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Selections.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE FACTS FORCED UPON HER PEOPLE.

From the Louisville Journal, Nov. 21.

BY reference to the official returns of the Presidential election for our State, which we publish this morning as far as received, it will be seen that the extreme eastern and western counties have given large votes for Lincoln. In the counties of Ballard, Graves, Hickman, McCracken, and Fulton, of "Jackson's Purchase," the vote stands: Lincoln, 1,944; McClellan, 1,917. In the eastern sweep, from Lewis, on the Ohio river, to Knox, on the Tennessee border, these two counties, with Estill, Greenup, Laurel, Lewis, Pulaski, Owsley, Whitley, and Rockcastle, gave Lincoln 5,347, McClellan 2,551. By the census of 1860 the five western counties held 8,628 slaves, and the ten eastern counties only 3,769. McCracken and Ballard, the two counties at the mouth of the Ohio river, owned as many slaves as the entire designated ten counties in the eastern part of the State. We will not stop to discuss the causes why the extremities of our State are opposed to its central part. There are several different theories, but they all point to one certain fact—the State is divided in opinion, and the division is becoming more apparent every time an election is held. After the result of the Presidential election was made known, our correspondent "D" suggested the constitutional removal of slavery by an amendment to the Federal Constitution through the action of Congress, adopted by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, and ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures or Conventions of the States, and he showed by a statistical statement that this can be accomplished in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Constitution. We, in reply, referred to the fact that slavery could not be removed in Kentucky by Constitutional State action under less than five years. It is, therefore, evident that neither of these methods meets the exigency of the case and the pressure of our necessities in Kentucky. Taking the recent returns, and the result so unexpected by many of our people in the interior of a heavy vote for Mr. Lincoln, we must look matters fairly in the face and consider them practically. What is our case and the pressure upon us? In the central parts—the bluegrass regions and the Green river country—the heaviest slaveholding portions of the State, their condition is deplorable. Our system of labor is utterly demoralized; no family know when they rise in the morning, whether they have a servant to prepare breakfast for them or not. But this is by no means the worst, for a family of any industry may contrive to cook their own breakfast, and dinner, too, but many of our farmers are almost or quite deprived of their laborers. Some have lost only one or two hands, but some have lost a fourth or a half, and some all of their servants. The important considerations here suggest themselves, how are the farms of such men to be cultivated next season, and if not cultivated, where are our supplies of food to come from? These are practical questions for Kentucky planters and farmers to meet, and they have nothing to do with the result of the late election; they are contingent solely upon the rushing tide of uncontrollable events in the prosecution of the war to put down the rebellion. Again, many of the farmers have had the wives and small children of their men left on their hands, a present and prospective burden, and what adds to the perplexity of their position, the active men of every age, and many of the younger and middle-aged women have been going away, and will continue to go, until, apparently, the institution of slavery will remove itself, and with it we shall lose nearly all our labor. The government wants the active black men for soldiers; the policy of their enlistment has become settled by legal enactment, and by the same power it is decided that the wives and children of the colored soldiers obtain with the enlisted negro the status of freedom. We are dealing with facts, and not with an argument whether such a policy was wise or politic toward a loyal State like Kentucky; we want a prompt disposition of the question. It is of all absorbing interest in our State. We have numerous private letters and communications intended for publication, all asking if something can not be done early to prevent these catastrophes. They all say they cannot wait the slow processes suggested by our correspondent "D," or by ourselves. They argue that the patient will die before the doctors have their remedies ready. Emancipation, it is urged, may be effected by the Legislature, at their meeting in January, by making compensation; for, as our Constitution forbids the Legislature to emancipate without compensation, the necessary implication is that they may do it with compensation. We have no idea, however, that the Legislature will do this, even at the present nominal value of the slave. When President Lincoln proposed compensation, Congress did not vote the supplies necessary for the compensation, and there is hardly a possibility that it will be offered again. The progress of the war will take our slaves away without compensation, except the bounty for able-bodied soldiers.

The question now is, not how shall we save slavery, but how shall we raise our bread, and bake it after we have raised it. Where shall we get the labor? We have now neither slavery nor freedom; we have none of the benefits of either system of labor, but are suffering the disadvantages of both, in the midst of the demoralization and anarchy that prevail around us. Shall we let events take their course, and without effort drift with the stream and land wherever our unguided bark may bring up? Is this the part of wisdom, of statesmanship, or, better than either, of common sense? No one can assert it. We say again, let us meet this question practically; lay aside prejudices and look to our self-interest. If we will not emancipate at once by legislative act accompanied with compensation, which, as we have shown before, is perfectly constitutional, then there is nothing left, so far as we can see at present, to prevent our laborers slowly, yet wholly, leaving the State, but a solemn expression of the Legislature of Kentucky at its meeting this Winter, that the rebellion has incidently already so demoralized slavery in the State that its restoration is beyond hope, and that we must acquiesce in its termination. This would be but the expression of a matter of fact; it makes no difference whom we blame or whom we do not blame, or whether we are pro-slavery or anti-slavery. This is a concrete practical question: "to be or not to be." Shall we let things drift along at their own will, or shall we interpose our active efforts to guide results?

It may be objected that we will turn all the negroes loose upon us, but the simple reply to that is that they are already turned loose, and they will be turned looser still if something is not done, and that promptly. We will have the old and the blind, the lame and the halt, the mother and her brood to feed and to clothe, without anybody to work to maintain them. This is what we can prevent, and the only way that suggests itself to us is by legislative recommendation and general consent, formally, as far as we can, to terminate what is already virtually at an end and hopelessly beyond restoration. Of course such advice, recommendation, and consent would bind no one who dissented. If any are of different judgment and can retain their slaves by other means, by all means let them do it as long as they can. We are for abiding by the Constitution, both Federal and State, to the letter. They are the only palladiums of our safety. Lay them aside or evade them and we are at sea—we are in rebellion. Let us try to keep matters square with constitutional bounds. Let us have no Sovereignty Conventions, but abide by the bond, though it take "the pound of flesh" and the blood as well.

We throw out these suggestions to the people of Kentucky, who have no alternative but to meet these questions; they can, if they act wisely, control affairs to their own best interests, or they can plunge our State into social as well as political difficulties; they can, by moderate counsels, bring the State safely through the "new order of things" which is upon us and cannot be escaped or evaded. We ask a calm, patient, and searching consideration of these suggestions. We have given them much anxious thought, and their importance demands that the intellect and experience of our State should take them under deliberation.

From the Kentucky Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette.

We are glad to see that the Louisville *Journal* is fulfilling the expectations that its course since the Presidential election has created, in reference to the much vexed question of slavery in Kentucky. The whole question, as it says, of State emancipation is environed with difficulties. Our State Constitution says that a proposition to amend the Constitution must be made "within the first twenty days of a regular session." The session of this Winter will be an adjourned one, and therefore no action can be taken upon the subject of a Convention by the Legislature until the Winter of 1865—one year from this time. In regard to legislative emancipation by compensation, the Constitution says:

"The General Assembly have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State."

In this clause there are two conditions upon which the Legislature can pass laws for the emancipation of slaves: 1st, If the owners of the slaves are willing for such a law to be passed, it can be done even without compensation. 2d, They can pass a law emancipating them without the consent of the owners, by paying them their full value in money previous to such emancipation. In both cases the Legislature must also provide for the removal of such emancipated slaves from the State. Thus we see what insuperable constitutional difficulties beset the subject. If the people are willing to have the slaves emancipated, they are not willing to have them leave the State at present, as they need their labor. Yet this part of the constitutional difficulty may yet be gotten over by making the removal gradual and prospective. Yet there is a law of the State requiring emancipated slaves to leave the State immediately, and not to remain longer, we believe, than twenty days. This law ought to be repealed by the next Legislature. Many persons think so, so that the people of the State could free their slaves and allow them to remain and work for hire. Such persons think that if no law of this kind existed, that clause of the Constitution which compels the emancipated slave to leave the State would be inoperative and void. But the language of the Constitution is imperative. It does not say the Legislature *may pass* laws, etc., but it says, "The General Assembly *shall* pass laws providing that any slave hereafter emancipated in and refusing to leave the State, or having left shall return and settle within the State, shall be deemed guilty of felony and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof." Not only then is the Legislature incapable of emancipating the slaves without compensation, without the consent of the owner, but the Constitution compels that Legislature to provide for their removal from the State. It also forbids any emancipated slaves residing in the State. Thus are we shut up to a host of difficulties in regard to the matter. If the owners of slaves, to stop this demoralization of the institution, would consent for the Legislature to pass an act freeing them, as the Constitution in such circumstances would allow it to do, still that Constitution compels their removal from the State. But that is what they do not want, at least for the present. If the owner frees them himself, why, then, he must remove them immediately. Of course, then, such a course of private emancipation would at once denude the State of labor. There is but one possible means of getting rid of the institution without violating the Constitution of Kentucky, and yet retaining their labor long enough to make the change gradual from slave to free white labor—and that is by compensation. At any time the Legislature can emancipate them by paying the owner their full value in money. What is the value of the slaves in Kentucky? Let us examine this question at length. According to the census of 1860 there were 225,000 slaves in the State. By the Auditor's report there were 203,000 in 1863. Up to the 18th of October, 1864, 14,000 able-bodied slaves had been enlisted in the army in this State. Not less than 7,000 have been run off to other States and enlisted there, making in all 21,000 of the able-bodied male slaves. By the law of Congress the wives and children of these 21,000 enlisted slaves are free also at the expiration of the three years for which these negroes enlisted. Multiply 21,000 by five to represent the wives and children of the enlisted negroes, and we have 105,000 of the slaves of Kentucky already freed by a law of Congress, which is the supreme law of the land, anything in the State Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. If our figures are not too large (and we use the official ones of the number of enlisted negroes), we see that already half of the slaves of the State are in a manner free. Now take into consideration that this 105,000 includes *all* the valuable negroes of the State, and we will see the amount of compensation which would be required is very small. Enlistments still go on, and every time a negro man enters the army, he makes five persons free. We also believe that the military authorities expect to increase the number of enlistments of slaves in this State to at least 25,000, besides those who have enlisted from Kentucky in other States. Let it be also considered that a negro is taken into the service, whether he be over or under the military age, provided he is competent to either shoulder a musket or but do fatigue duty. If this course is pursued with any rigor, the result will be that before the time of planting the Spring crops arrives every negro man in the State will be in the service of the government who is able to work in a crop, and of course his wife and children will be freed by that act. When all the men who are able have gone into the service, and *their* wives and children are made free, the remnant left will be very small, and not worth one cent to the owner. In fact the institution is now a dead expense to every owner of a family of negroes. The husband is perhaps in the army. If so, in three years the wife and children will be free; or perhaps all a man's able-bodied slaves have left him—the slaves that made the institution profitable—and the women and children are left on his hands to support. It is ridiculous to say that the labor of negro women and children will make the institution profitable. The reason of this is that most farmers have more women and children than they can find suitable employment for, and as the children are worth nothing now in the market, their support must be borne without any expectation of future payment by the increased value of the growing child. Why, we know a slaveholder who owns six negro women, and seven negro children, all under 10 years of age, and not one able-bodied man. That family of negroes in 1860 was very valuable. Four of the women then were worth $800 a piece, and the children would have averaged $300 a piece. Now they are bringing their master every day into debt to support them. They do not make enough to support themselves, by $200 to $300 a year. This is not an exceptional case. There are thousands of persons who are left in similar circumstances by the able-bodied negroes going into the army. Now, are such slaves worth anything? Who will buy them? No person. Then they are worth nothing in the market. "They are eating their heads off" at home, and instead of being a profit are an expense. Every man who is thus situated could afford to set all of them free and hire the services of enough to do all his work with ease, and save money by the operation. For then he would pay for the labor of only the women and children he actually used, while he would be rid of the expense of clothing and feeding the children too young to work. Thus we see a very small price will purchase all the slaves that will remain in Kentucky unaffected by the law of Congress providing for the enlisting of slaves, by the opening of Spring, and their value will be nominal. Then let the Legislature pay for all such slaves as will not be freed by that act of Congress. We can petition Congress to give us enough of the public lands to indemnify the State for the expense incurred. We are assured that the members of Congress from Kentucky who support the Administration will use their efforts to induce Congress to give us the land. Now, slaveholders of Kentucky, who supported Gen. McClellan, to speak plainly, this is your opportunity. We verily believe, if you will manifest a willingness to thus remove the institution and so unite your efforts with those who are Administration men, such an arrangement can be made whereby you will receive a fair compensation for your slaves, and yet save their labor to the State until you can make other and more permanent provision for prosecuting your farming operations. Will you meet us on this common ground? We speak sincerely and advisedly. It is the only chance we have. It is useless to think about trying to save the institution.

"Lay aside prejudice" and bring your common sense to bear upon the question as one of deep interest. Kentucky has been attempting to row up stream on this question long enough. The current is too strong for her. Let her then tack about and make to the safest harbor she can find. Two years ago compensated emancipation was offered us and we refused it. Six months hence we cannot get it in any form; and in six months slavery in Kentucky will be in such a condition by the natural drift of events that it will not be endurable. Call county meetings and instruct your representatives, and begin at once to move in this matter, for time with us now is precious. The matter is in your hands. Will you act as it becomes wise and patriotic citizens to do? The Administration men in Northern Kentucky are ready to so with you harmoniously on this question. Many McClellan men in this part of Kentucky, we are glad to see, are manifesting a disposition to lay aside the asperities of the past campaign, and unite with the Lincoln men, to do the best they can for the welfare of the State in this matter. They feel that it is useless to further resist the revolution on the question of slavery. And they are now willing to accept the verdict of the people expressed at the late election, and prepare their State for the new order of things. It is the part of wisdom, and we hope that many more will find it to their interest and patriotism so to act. But what can be done must be done at once.

EMANCIPATION IN LOUISIANA.

From Gen. Banks's Speech in Faneuil Hall.

THE people of Louisiana have shown you what is the judgment of the masses of the people of the South upon that question (slavery). They have given a verdict, both at the polls of that State and in their Convention, that I venture to say here, Mr. President, in your presence, the people of Massachusetts would hesitate long to give. Of the 708,000 population of that State in 1860, 352,000, one-half the whole, were held by the other half as slaves. The President of the United States had declared, by his proclamation of January 1, that in a portion of the State, at least, they were still slaves *de jure*, if not *de facto*. In the face of the existence of that right, the people chose delegates to a Convention, not, as some of our people would have you believe, by the protection of the army or by the machinations of the government at Washington, but from their own choice and purpose, which recognized a delegate from every election district in that State, according to the population of 1860. They declared that every proposition in that Convention, of whatever nature, whether it concerned the constitutional law or whether it concerned the manner of transacting business, should be maintained by a majority of all the delegates, if every representative district of the State of Louisiana were filled by a delegate. I hear it said here at the North, "what would you do if the rebels chose to send delegates into your Conventions?" I say to you, fellow-citizens, that the people of Louisiana considered that the rebels might send their delegates if they chose, and they gave to every representative district a seat, and counted the empty seats, and they had a majority over all for what they chose to do.

In the parishes controlled by the government of the United States, from 1852 up to 1863, the ordinary vote of the people was from fifteen to sixteen thousand; and upon this question of the organization of the State government, in these identical parishes, the people in 1863 gave 12,000 votes; the difference being, with all the frauds which distinguished and characterized Louisiana politics before, only three or four thousand at the outside. And instead of these people having the aid of the army and of the government of the United States, I stand here, speaking what I know, to say that they had the substantial opposition of both. What did this Convention do? It declared that slavery was abolished in the State of Louisiana, without consideration of compensation or time (loud applause and cries of "Good"); that the Legislature should never have the power to recognize property in man (renewed applause); that the able-bodied colored men of the State should be enrolled for military service in the militia of the State; that every colored child in the Commonwealth should have the same advantages of education as every white child in the Commonwealth; and the Constitution confers upon the Legislature full power (and conferring power upon a point like this is equivalent to an order, as you know, well instructed as you are in constitutional lore), for service in the army, for contributions in taxes, or for intelligence in public affairs, to confer the right of suffrage upon every man of that State, irrespective of race or color (applause). You have a million of people here. Suppose 500,000 in 1860 had been owned as property by the other 500,000. Suppose the President, in a series of messages, had taken especial pains to declare that these men should be held as slaves, and that those who owned should still continue to own, and that those who were owned should still continue to be owned; and suppose the propositions were made that, irrespective of compensation or any consideration of the rights of the owners, and without regard to time, these 500,000 slaves should be instantaneously emancipated, that their children should be educated, that the able-bodied men should be enlisted in the army, and that when they qualified themselves for the exercise of the right, they should have the right of suffrage—how many men in Massachusetts would have voted for that proposition in 1863? (A Voice—"Not one.") I believe it—not one. It is too much to expect of human nature, that 500,000 people would have made this sacrifice, under such circumstances as these to which I have referred. Nor, indeed, is it required of them. I do not speak of Massachusetts alone. I asked a man in New York, the other day, who was talking about Louisiana more than he knew (laughter), as I have no doubt at all many of you do (renewed laughter), "How many people have you got in New York?" "Three million." I said, "If a million and a half were owned by the other million and a half, and the proposition was made instantaneously to give them freedom, to say nothing about compensation to their owners, to put the State to the expense of educating them, to enroll every able-bodied man in the militia if they chose to exert that power, and to give them the right of suffrage if they showed themselves qualified to exercise it, how many men in New York would vote for it?" "Why," said he, "the very proposition would make a revolution." It has been done in Louisiana. I will tell you why it has been done, and this will show you the clue to the unravelling of the power of the rebellion and the way to the restoration of the government. The active men of that State have gone into the rebellion. There were 51,000 or 52,000 voters in the State, the largest vote ever given. There were in the rebel army from 42,000 to 45,000 men, taking pretty much all the voters, all the active men. The negroes were the other extreme of the people. Now, the active men being gone, and the negroes struggling for freedom, which they had not attained, it left nothing but the masses, the middling interest, the best portion of the people there, representing the power of the State. Their minds were full of prejudices as yours would have been under similar circumstances, but when they came to deliberate in Convention, these unlettered, these uneducated, but honest men, upon this question of the rights of slavery and of the negro population of that State, they came to the conclusion which I have described; and they declared by a majority vote, which is a majority of every representative district in that State, if every district had been represented, that there should be no more slavery, that education should be extended to all, that suffrage should be provided for the negroes, and that they should be armed whenever occasion required. The people of this country are right; they are nearer to God than the chieftains of any party or any association of men. They may often be misled, they may at times be filled with vulgar prejudices, and they may oftentimes do acts of great injustice; but if you can get at the common heart of the people, unawed by power, undisturbed by misrepresentation of fact, and get at what is their pure, instinctive determination and purpose, it will be as near right as any creature that God ever made can approach to right (applause). The people of Louisiana are a proof of that which I have said. No better Constitution has ever been presented to any people on the face of the earth, and there never will be to the end of time, than that of 1863 for the State of Louisiana (applause).

I have been led from my purpose in alluding to this matter. I did not mean to say one word about it; but you have led me from point to point. I say I was led into this train of thought by a reference to the institution of slavery. That institution, independent of its merits as a moral question or an immoral question, independent of constitutional rights, the people of this country have determined, as a matter of safety, shall no longer exist (great applause and cries of "Good"). If the Democratic party shall achieve its purpose and elect a President, it can never reëstablish slavery in the State of Louisiana (applause). If, by the judgment of God, which I pray may not come, the rebels shall be installed in power in Louisiana, they can never reëstablish slavery in that State (renewed applause). There is no power within man, or within the scope of man's influence, that can bring about the consummation of that terrible end and result. And if it were possible that such a thing should occur, a man might well say, irrespective of his opinions in regard to the question itself, in the language of Lear:

> "Hear, nature, hear;
> Kind mother, hear! Suspend thy purpose, if
> Thou did'st intend to make this creature fruitful!
> Into her womb convey sterility!
> Dry up in her the organs of increase:
> And from her derogate body never spring
> A babe to honor her! If she must teem,
> Create her child of spleen; that it may live
> And be a thwart, disnatured torment to her!
> Let it stamp wrinkles in her brow of youth;
> With cadent tears fret channels in her cheeks;
> Turn all her mother's pains and benefits
> To laughter and contempt: that she may feel
> How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a godless child!"

No, we may dismiss the fear, under any circumstances whatever, of the return of slavery, either as a political or a domestic power or interest.

THE NEW CHIEF-JUSTICE.

From the New York Times.

THE appointment of Salmon P. Chase to the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court gives very general satisfaction. Even his political opponents—those of course excepted whose judgment is palsied by old prejudice—cheerfully concede that the President could have made no better selection. We can recall no instance of one transferred from the political arena to the Supreme Bench with so little animadversion. It is a remarkable contrast to the storm of wrath raised by Gen. Jackson's appointment of his immediate predecessor.

We consider this fact very significant. It is one of the most notable tokens we have had that the Republic has indeed entered upon a new era. There is no public man in the country whose anti-slavery record has been longer or more consistent, or more decided than that of Salmon P. Chase. Twenty-eight years ago, he was seen in the Ohio courts pleading with great power in behalf of fugitive slaves. He took the most determined ground against the entire system of fugitive slave surrenders. The same intense anti-slavery spirit which always controlled him professionally attended his political life from the very first. One of the founders of the "Liberty party" in Ohio in 1841; an active member of the Buffalo Liberty Convention in 1843; again an active member of the second Liberty National Convention in 1847; elected to the United States Senate by the Democratic Legislature of Ohio in 1849, on distinctly avowed anti-slavery grounds; a most earnest opponent of Mr. Clay's compromise measures of 1850; repudiating the Democratic party because it indorsed these measures in its presidential platform of 1852; one of the foremost advocates of the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, adhering to his anti-slavery principles with the same tenacity as when Governor of Ohio in the slavery period of Buchanan's Administration; still uncompromising and unflinching as member of the Peace Convention which assembled in Washington on the eve of the great rebellion; known as the head of the radical wing of President Lincoln's Cabinet and the special favorite of the so-called radical portion of the Union party for the next Presidency, he yet is now made Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, with the almost universal approval of both of the great parties. There are but one or two living public men in the country upon whom, in time past, the Democratic party has poured out contumely so bitter and so incessant, and yet now all this is either hushed into soft silence, or else positively converted into honeyed commendation.

This new leaning toward Mr. Chase on the part of his old political opponents, cannot be imputed to a satisfaction that he has quitted the political arena forever. Everybody knows that in his judicial capacity he will be required to pronounce upon many momentous questions affecting the interests of slaveholders, and intimately connected with old party issues. There is no danger that he will step out of his proper judicial province to do this, in imitation of the conduct of his predecessor in the Dred Scott case; but he cannot avoid these questions if he would. In conjunction with his brethren on the bench, he will have to settle most important points of constitutional law, growing out of the Emancipation proclamation, the Confiscation Acts of Congress, and other enactments that have been passed, and are yet to be passed, for the suppression of the rebellion, and the reëstablishment of constitutional rule. Yet for all that, almost everybody trusts him.

The simple truth is, that the terrible discipline of this war has wrought a complete change in the temper and sentiment of even the Democratic party, in respect to the South. This change has gone on in spite of even the fierce excitement of the late Presidential canvass. It asserted itself in the cheerful acquiescence, we may almost say the positive satisfaction, with which the reëlection of President Lincoln was received by the great body of the party. It again asserts itself in this easy concurrence in the eminent fitness of the appointment of Salmon P. Chase to be Chief-Justice. The Democratic party, in spite of all its old habits, cannot help recognizing that the old order of things is at an end, and that the nation is passing into a new stage of being. It is more and more realizing the necessity of conforming to this transition; and submits, with a grace never felt before, not only to the transition itself, but to those public agents who guide it, however obnoxious these may have been in other days. This happy adaptation bespeaks an end of faction, and is a most propitious augury.

From the Evening Post.

IT is now nearly forty years since a New England lad, an orphan and almost without friends, entered the city of Washington to find employment as a school teacher. Yesterday he returned to the same city as the Chief-Justice of our supreme judiciary, the highest official position that a man can attain in this country, and, in our estimation, the highest in the world. No Lord Chancellor of England, no President of the Court of Cassation in France, is invested with higher functions, or exercises a more extensive power, than the Chief-Justice of the United States. Our peculiar Federal structure of government has rendered a reference to this tribunal necessary to the settlement of the greatest and most vital constitutional questions, and from the origin of the nation to the present time, the tribunal has always met its responsibilities with a becoming promptitude, decision and independence.

The appointment of Mr. Chase to a place which has been made illustrious by the virtues and abilities of a Jay, a Rutledge, an Ellsworth and a Marshall is no less honorable to President Lincoln, by whom the dignity is conferred, than it is to the distinguished recipient of it. It is well known that in their personal traits, as well as in some of their political tendencies, there is a considerable divergency, not sufficiently decided to produce estrangement or dislike, but yet enough so to render the contrast perceptible. In overlooking these differences, and regarding the best interests as well as the wishes of the whole country alone, the President has shown his superiority to all merely personal considerations and his desire to consult singly the public welfare.

The appointment is honorable to Mr. Chase, because it came to him unsought, and after a political career which has been singularly upright and consistent in principle. Mr. Chase began his professional life as the opponent of those stupendous trains of abuse, which slavery had wrought through our whole fabric of law and society. He was the defender of the oppressed fugitive from bondage, for whom a wicked legislation had endeavored to close that last city of refuge, the courts of justice. In all his public relations since, he has not forgotten that devotion to the principles of "equal and exact justice to all men," which is the essence of his political creed, and which has been also the secret of his political success. Unpopular as his positions were at the outset, he knew the intelligence of the American people, he confided in their sense of right, he trusted to time to vindicate the truth which temporary prejudice and errors beclouded. His faith has not deceived him; the obsure advocate of a despised class, in the western courts, is now the head of the most august tribunal of the nation; he has been placed there by no personal chicanery, by no political management, but in obedience to the almost universal sentiment of his country. The people, having come up to his own high mark of statesmanship and of citizenship, spontaneously insisted that he should be invested with a more than imperial laurel in the spotless robe of the jurisconsult.

No one is perhaps better entitled to congratulate the nation on the advent of such a man to such a dignity than the *Evening Post*, which has so long been the exponent of the same cause, which has shared with him the days of its adversity, and which rejoices with him in seeing the hour of its triumph. Mr. Chase is all the more welcome to us, in his new character, because he has thus belonged essentially to the same political school. He was trained in those principles of democratic liberty and justice, of constitutional order and peace, of State rights combined with national unity, which were the inspirations of the early founders of the republic; he has never, so far as we now recall his life, departed from them; he has not abandoned them at the dictates of party, or under the seductions of personal ambition; and in this fidelity to his own reason, in this clear, decided and large-minded pursuit of great civic ends, in the face of the temporary influences that have misled so many others, we see his peculiar fitness for his new post. Politics, in the narrow sense of the word, it is true, have little to do within the sacred precincts of the court; as its judges are supposed to lay aside their political aspirations, so they ought to lay aside their political prejudices and even biasses; but the philosophy of our political institutions is more or less involved in all the great constitutional questions that engage its study, and it is important that the minds who decide them should be pervaded by those grand traditional principles of political science which are essential to our security and progress.

To the complicated and embarrassing questions, growing out of the war and the subsequent reconciliation of divided sections, that must sooner or later get before the Supreme Court, we are sure that Chief-Justice Chase will bring a large wisdom, a discerning but impartial judgment, and the sincerest patriotism—a love for the whole nation and for all its parts, and a resolute will that neither an overgrown centralization of power in the Federal head, nor an anarchical claim of absolute sovereignty in the component States, shall vitiate and defeat that beautiful system of government which has come down to us from our fathers.

From the Tribune.

FIVE years ago, had any one suggested Salmon P. Chase as the probable successor of Roger B. Taney in the most responsible and eminent position of Chief Justice of the United States, he would have been regarded as in need of a straight jacket. The chasm that separated the late from the present incumbent of that station is wider than that spanned by the twenty years' sleep of Rip Van Winkle, to which he lay down a loyal subject of King George and awoke a fellow-citizen of President Washington. The death of Judge Taney during the night following the popular vote whereby Maryland was made a Free State marked the close of an era; the accession of Judge Chase marks the commencement of another. The passing away of the one, the opening of the other, occur in the midst of a gigantic civil convulsion which has piled the earth with its slain and filled the sky with the smoke of its conflagrations; but we need not doubt that the angry clouds of battle and havoc will soon be illumined by the bow of conciliation and peace.

The unanimity and heartiness wherewith Gov. Chase's appointment has been welcomed argue a general appreciation of the changed attitude of our country—far more general than had previously been realized. The clamor and clash of parties in our late Presidential contest have given place to a general conviction that Impartial Liberty is henceforth to be the fundamental law of the Republic; hence the instinctive perception that Gov. Chase is the very man for Chief-Justice. For more than twenty years, he has not only believed but proclaimed that Liberty in our Union is the general and permanent rule, slavery the local and transitory exception. He so held when to affirm a vital faith in the Rights of Man as Man was to bid adieu to all hope of political power or honors; he has continued [illegible] through the madness of the slaveholding interest, it has become possible to love and uphold Impartial Freedom without thereby incurring ostracism or proscription. His present position adds another to the visible, tangible encouragements to faith in the Right, and in the present, palpable activity of Divine Justice in the affairs of mankind.

The position of Chief-Justice has been filled, since it was created by the Federal Constitution, by four persons, namely: 1, John Jay of New York; 2, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut; 3, John Marshall of Virginia; 4, Roger B. Taney of Maryland. Messrs. Jay and Ellsworth were respectively nominated by Washington; and each resigned after serving for a few years only; Judge Marshall was nominated by John Adams just before his retirement from the Presidency; and Judge Taney by Gen. Jackson in the latter half of his second term. Marshall took the office in his maturer prime, and held it over thirty-four years, dying in it at the ripe age of 80. Taney accepted it when nearly 60, yet held it almost thirty years, dying Chief-Justice at the ripe age of 87. As Ellsworth lived to be 72, and Jay to be 93, the office may be deemed favorable to longevity, and we may reverently hope that its new incumbent has many years of vigor and usefulness before him.

Gen. Dix, in his late able letter to the War Democrats of our city, gave emphatic utterance to the widely felt regret that conspicuous ability is now less commonly associated with office than in the early years of our National existence. It is well that the post of Chief-Justice should exhibit a single exception to this remark; and that, as all who have hitherto filled it have been eminently capable as well as personally blameless citizens, their successor in this crisis should be confessedly one of the very ablest and purest of American jurists and statesmen. And, among the many strong and good men who were eligible to this position, the choice of the President could have fallen upon none abler or worthier than Salmon P. Chase.

LORDLY IMPERTINENCE REBUKED.

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1864.

THE President to-day sent a message to the Senate, in reply to Mr. Sumner's resolutions calling upon him, if not incompatible with the public interest, to furnish to the Senate any information in his possession relative to a proposition of British subjects to give aid to the rebellion. Lord Wharncliffe informs Mr. Adams that the Liverpool bazaar produced about £17,000, and asks permission for an accredited agent to visit the military prisons within the Northern States and distribute aid to their inmates. He denies that any political aid is aimed at or any imputation that Confederate prisoners are deprived of such attentions as the ordinary rules enjoin. He says: "The issues of the great conflict will not be determined by individual suffering, be it greater or less, and you, whose family name is interwoven with American history cannot view with indifference the sufferings of American citizens, whatever their State or opinions." Mr. Adams replied that it has never been the desire of the government to treat with unnecessary or vindictive severity any of the misguided individual parties in this deplorable rebellion, who have fallen into its hands in the regular course of the war, and that he should greatly rejoice if the effects of such sympathy could be extended to ministering to their mental ailment as well as to their bodily suffering, thus contributing to put an end to a struggle which otherwise is too likely to be only procrastinated by their English sympathizers.

Mr. Seward replies as follows to the application received through Mr. Adams:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 5, 1864.

SIR: I have received your dispatch of the 18th of November, No. 807, together with the papers therein mentioned, viz.: a copy of a letter which was addressed to you on the 12th of November last by Lord Wharncliffe, and a copy of your answer to that letter. You will now inform Lord Wharncliffe that permission for an agent of the committee described by him to visit the insurgents detained in the military prisons of the United States, and to distribute among them seventeen thousand pounds of British gold, is disallowed. Here it is expected that your correspondence with Lord Wharncliffe will end. That correspondence will necessarily become public. On reading it the American public will be well aware that while the United States have ample means for the support of prisoners as well as for every other exigency of the war in which they are engaged, the insurgents who have blindly rushed into that condition are suffering no privations that appeal for relief to charity either at home or abroad. The American people will be likely to reflect that the sum thus insidiously tendered in the name of humanity, constitutes no large portion of the profits which its contributors may be justly supposed to have derived from the insurgents by exchanging with them arms and munitions of war for the coveted productions of immoral and enervating slave labor. Nor will any portion of the American people be disposed to regard the sum thus ostentatiously offered for the relief of captured insurgents, as a too generous equivalent for the devastation and desolation which a civil war, promoted and protracted by British subjects, has spread throughout the States which before were eminently prosperous and happy. Finally, in view of this last officious intervention in our domestic affairs, the American people can hardly fail to recall the warning of the Father of our country, directed against two great and intimately connected public dangers, namely, sectional faction and foreign intrigue. I do not think the insurgents have become debased, although they have sadly wandered from the ways of loyalty and patriotism. I think that, in common with all our countrymen, they will rejoice in being saved by their considerate and loyal government from the grave insult which Lord Wharncliffe and his associates, in their zeal for the overthrow of the United States, have prepared for the victims of this unnatural and hopeless rebellion. I am, sir, your obedient servant, WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

GOOD ADVICE.

[FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in addressing the colored people the other day in Baltimore, gave them some excellent advice, which we find reported in the Cambridge (Md.) *Intelligencer*.]

I NOW desire to make some remarks to my colored friends. By the adoption of the new Constitution your condition is radically changed. You are, in one sense, free. But you must not think that freedom means absence from work. Bear that in mind. I would impress it upon your minds that if you would be prosperous you must be industrious. I would advise those living in the lower counties of Maryland to stick to their agricultural pursuits. I believe $150 in the country is better than $400 in the city. There they can live more economically, and there are not so many temptations to lead them astray. If the colored people of Maryland flock to Baltimore, crowding the alleys and by-streets, woe betide them. Sad indeed will be their fate. They must stick to the country, and work. They must be saving with their funds, and endeavor to buy land. They must continually strive to become landholders. Nor is this sufficient. They must build up schools and educate their children. Hitherto you were wont to pride yourself on your muscle. He who could shoulder the heaviest burden was the greatest man in the neighborhood. But you need something else now. You must have mind. You must make yourself capable of thinking as well as digging. If we wish to enjoy the same privileges as the white man, we must labor to become his equal. We must educate ourselves. Let us resolve to point the finger of scorn at every colored man who refuses to send his children to school. You will find that the more intelligent and refined you become, the more your white brethren will respect you. I hold that all men are equal naturally, but not practically. We need not strive to conceal that we are inferior to the whites practically. They have their Clays, Websters and Calhouns. We have not. They can build ships, while we can scarcely build a canoe, and it will be lopsided. In fact in all the arts and sciences they are immeasurably our superiors. Now if we will be studious and faithful to our interests, it will not always be so. The black man is just as capable of being great as the white. All it needs is an effort—a persistent, untiring effort. You have now the opportunity, and I trust you will improve it.

DUTY OF THE WHITE MAN TO THE NEGRO.

[From a sketch, in the Cambridge (Md.) *Intelligencer*, of the speech lately delivered in Baltimore by FREDERICK DOUGLASS.]

A FEW words now relative to the duty of the white man to the negro. You have adopted a free Constitution, by which you have freed our race from servitude. We are no longer compelled to toil from morn till night without compensation, and go and come at the beck of another. This is a great boon, it is true. But if you would be consistent, you will not stop here. If you would be true to the great principles of Liberty and Justice, you must make Maryland thoroughly and practically free. You must wipe out all those black laws that disgrace your statutes. You must give us the right to vote, to hold office, testify in courts and sit in jury boxes. In fact, grant us the same rights and privileges which you enjoy. What we want is perfect civil, religious and political equality. We do not ask for social equality. There is no such thing. That is something that will settle and regulate itself. And why should you not grant us all this? What have you to fear? You of the proud Caucasian race, who have done more than all others to civilize and liberalize the world. You are a great people. You have knowledge, and knowledge is power; therefore, you are powerful. Wealth wields influence, and you have wealth; therefore, you are influential. Numbers and courage combined always command respect, and you have both numbers and courage; therefore, you are respected. You possess in the highest degree all those qualities and virtues which make a people great and powerful. Then why should you be afraid to permit us to enter the race of competition with you? Is our degradation necessary to your elevation? Must our hands be tied in order that you may thrive? I cannot believe it. And what plausible reason is there why we should not be permitted to vote? If we have to pay taxes, we should be allowed to vote. If we know enough to read the Constitution, we should be allowed to vote. If we know how to discriminate between right and wrong, we should be allowed to vote. If we know as much sober, as Irishmen when drunk, we should be allowed to vote. If we bare our bosoms to our country's foe, we should be allowed to vote. The rebels in your State are praying night and day for the success of the South, and thousands have sent their sons to battle for her independence; yet if they will take the oath, thus adding perjury to the crime of treason, you permit them to vote. While the negroes, on the other hand, are universally loyal, and they are hour by hour, and day by day, sacrificing their lives for the safety of the republic, yet you deny them the right of the elective franchise. You give your enemies more privileges than your friends. What justice is there in this? Where is your gratitude? Where your magnanimity? I know that you contend that negroes are too ignorant to vote understandingly. But is ignorance confined to negroes alone? How many thousand whites are there who are unable to read the tickets they deposit in the ballot-box? The whole cause of it is prejudice of color—a prejudice which is said to be natural. But nothing could be more unnatural. It exists nowhere else but in the United States—a country which boasts of being the freest on earth. I have travelled over England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, visited every place of note, and mingled with all classes of people. But never by word or gesture did anyone ever make any difference with me because of my color. It is the same all over the European continent. And even in Brazil—slaveholding Brazil—the moment a slave becomes free he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of any other citizen. There is no prejudice there. And there should be none here. Be at least consistent. Be magnanimous. Be just. Away with your conditions to freedom. There can be no stopping halfway. All we ask is a fair and equal chance, and we are willing to abide the result. If we fail then, we are willing to go down. And I confidently believe the good work will go on until the obstacles which now confront us will be swept away, and every inhabitant clothed with the rights of freemen.

COLORPHOBIA IN PHILADELPHIA.

THE COLORED PEOPLE AND THE CITY CARS.

From the Press.

THE Committee appointed by the Social, Civil, and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania have issued a circular in relation to this question, from which we extract the principal portion, as follows:

To the Board of Presidents of the City Passenger Railroads:

GENTLEMEN: Since our petition was first presented New York has removed every vestige of proscription from all the city passenger cars—although the rules of her roads, long before this final change, carried colored people generally, without proscription, except two roads. In these exceptional cases they could ride in cars especially designated by the words "colored people are allowed," etc.

Can it be possible that there is more prejudice, and less humanity in Philadelphia than in New York?

We cannot think so; and our experience in this very matter of procuring signatures to the petition now under consideration fully justifies us in assuming this ground. We applied to men who had never rendered themselves publicly obnoxious by advocating anti-slavery or Abolition views, men filling the highest positions in the Churches, in the legal profession, in the mercantile calling, and in the editorial vocation, and to our great gratification we rarely applied in vain. Amongst the signatures may be found a number of Episcopal clergymen. Not a man of that order to whom we applied hesitated a moment about signing it, but all freely gave their names. Also among the names may be found the pastors of nearly all the leading Methodist Churches in this city, who, with one accord, cheerfully furnished their names, and the names of the churches over which they presided, to give additional weight thereto. Every Baptist clergyman also to whom it was presented gave his name and unqualified approval of the measure. Other denominations to whom it was presented, signed with equal freedom, so far as they were called upon. Hence, we take it for granted that, so far as the public are concerned, should the oppressive and proscriptive rules be changed to-day, the great majority of the citizens of Philadelphia would acquiesce in the change. And we would further add in this connection, we are fully persuaded that, if the board should feel inclined to test this question by allowing any ordinarily decent colored woman to ride on any one of the roads, by an impromptu vote of the passengers two-thirds would side with the woman as often as the trial may be made. But, you may ask, "Will not the vulgar and the lower order of society rebel against colored people riding?" We reply, "No; no sooner here than in New York, Washington, or New Orleans."

The truth is, the colored people, in meeting with insults and vulgar epithets from the vulgar, can not fail to observe that these abuses are, in a great degree, traceable to severe and inhuman rules of this kind.

Nobody insults a colored man or woman in the Tax Receiver's office, however full it may be. Nobody insults a colored man or woman in entering a store, even though it may be the most fashionable in the city. Why, then, should the fear exist that the very people who are meeting with colored people in various other directions without insulting them, should instantly become so intolerably incensed as to indicate a terrible aspect in this particular?

We say, fearless of successful gainsaying, that the rules of which the colored people of Philadelphia complain in point of severity stand unparalleled compared with the legislation of any other large city. The fifteen hundred wounded soldiers who lay in pain at the Summit and Satterlee hospitals a few weeks since received but few visits from their colored brethren, simply because the rules enforced on these cars would not allow decent colored people to ride, and eight or nine dollars per day (the usual charge for carriage hire) was beyond the means of the masses to pay. Yet, we repeat, by the regulations of the city passenger railways, not one mother, wife, or sister could be admitted, even to see a United States soldier, a relative, although the presence and succor of such mother, wife, or sister might save a life.

It is well known that through the efforts of the Supervisory Committee of this city ten or eleven regiments of colored men have been raised for the United States service, and not a few of these brave men have already won imperishable honor on the battle-field. Nevertheless, thrice the number that have been thus raised for the defence of the country are daily and hourly compelled to endure all the outrages and inconveniences consequent upon rules so severe and inexorable as those which have hitherto governed the roads of Philadelphia.

In conclusion, permit us to express the earnest hope that our efforts will this time meet with a more favorable result than before, and that not many weeks or months shall have passed ere such changes will be made as shall remove the cause of complaint for the future.

Respectfully yours,

WM. STILL,
ISAIAH E. MEARS,
S. M. SMITH,
J. C. GIBBS,
} Committee.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1864.

On and after January 1st, 1865, the price of the STANDARD, alike to old and new subscribers, and to those in arrears as well as those paying in advance will be $3 per annum. The reasons for this advance are so obvious and imperative that our readers will, we doubt not, cheerfully acquiesce in the same.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEF-JUSTICE.

THE President has spoken a word and done a deed within the last ten days, either of which were enough to make illustrious an Administration. He has reaffirmed his immortal Proclamation of January, 1863, and pledged himself anew to the slaves freed under it and under the laws of Congress that their freedom shall be secured to them or destroyed by other hands than his. And, then, he has placed Salmon P. Chase, an Abolitionist of near thirty years standing, at the head of the Law of the Nation, conferring upon him the great office of Chief-Justice of the United States, an elevation honored by Jay and Ellsworth and Marshall, and dishonored only by Taney. These are great acts, for such words as those which round Mr. Lincoln's Message are deeds, and are enduring monuments of the progress of our history. His recommendation, too, to Congress to pass the Amendment of the Constitution is a most significant sign of the times. A most astonishing one it would have been, had not the wonderful events of the past four years prepared the way for it. A President of the United States recommending it to Congress to pass an Amendment utterly destroying slavery, the element which his predecessors for more than a generation of men had always treated as that for which it was devised and was to be administered! It is no wonder that Fillmore, and Pierce, and Buchanan joined themselves to the goodly fellowship of the Copperheads, when such an oversetting of the idol they had bowed down to so long and so fervently was among the possibilities. They may well put sackcloth on their loins and ashes on their heads and cry Ichabod, for the glory, which was their glory, is departed, or is fast departing. The voice has been heard of their divinity, uttered from the *penetralia* of the ark of their covenant, "Let us go hence!" The idol has been thrown down by the hands of its own worshippers, and they who hoped to make the whole continent its everlasting temple find its place desolate. They look for him, and "behold, the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands are cut off upon the threshold, and only the stump of Dagon is left to him." And this, we may well believe, will soon be dashed in pieces and ground to powder and scattered to the four winds of heaven.

When we look back four years only, and remember the condition and the prospect of things at that time, and then consider how affairs stand now, the change seems little short of miraculous. It is like the change in France from 1788 to 1792, and in England from 1685 to 1689. And this revolution will be even more beneficent than either of those its precursors. It will be the complement of our own revolution of 1776, and finish the work then begun, but which came so near coming to naught. In 1861 slavery seemed to have possession of the whole land, North as well as South. The rebel States were withdrawing themselves one after the other and seizing on all the National property that they could lay their hands on. There was no spirit of resistance and no means at hand. The spirit of riot and misrule prevailed wherever any word was uttered at the North against slavery or these its works. Murder lurked in the by-places, ready to help his sister Treason in her work. Senator Sumner was tracked by assassins in Baltimore, and only escaped by his good luck or good providence. The President himself could not seek his Capital openly, and would have been assassinated had he not evaded those lying in wait for him by guile. It almost seemed as if a peaceable separation were better, could it be had, than the return of the rebels in triumph, victorious over the North, with their own Constitution substituted for ours. This was the plan of those traitors and the hope of their confederates amongst ourselves. And it looked for several dreadful months as if this catastrophe impended over us. The people did not know their own strength, nor their own virtue. They were not only more powerful but better than they had supposed themselves. There was a point of insult and injury which they would not suffer to be passed with impunity. Hence has come the war, a dreadful but a purifying process, which has made and will leave the Nation stronger and better than ever it was before. Then came the confiscation of rebel property, including their slaves. Then the prohibition of military slave-catching. Then the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. Then the employment of black troops. Next, the recognition of Liberia and Hayti. Then the Abolition of the Fugitive Slave laws. And, at last, the Emancipation in Maryland and in Missouri. Who, but a fanatical Abolitionist, ever expected to see the time when the least of these things should come to pass? And not even the most fanatic of Abolitionists expected such a harvest as this to be gathered in within a single Presidential term.

But, astonishing as these events are, the elevation of Mr. Chase to the Chief-Justiceship of the United States is one scarcely less amazing. If there were any part of the government in which slavery seemed to have established itself upon foundations which could not be shaken, it was the Supreme Court. It had been the especial care of every President and every Senate, up to 1860, to see to it that no man should ever be suffered to mount the bench of that Court who was not perfectly sound on the question of slavery and all its collateral and possible issues. For five and thirty years, at least, no man has obtained that dignity whose antecedents as to slavery and abolition had not been thoroughly scanned and sifted, and who had not proved by his works, or by his local habitation, that he was thoroughly to be depended upon. A majority of the Judges, or nearly so, were appointed from the slave States, and the vacancies, as the older Judges from the free States dropped off, were filled with ready tools or pliant sycophants, even worse than the slaveholding Judges themselves. And should one be found to disappoint the well-grounded expectations of the appointing power, as in the case of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, of Massachusetts, who dared dissent from the Dred Scott decision, the cold shoulder was turned to him with such frigid intensity that the post became insupportable and a resignation inevitable. The secession has changed this state of things entirely. Though all of Mr. Lincoln's appointments were not made with a strict eye to this supreme necessity, and there was just fear once that a majority could not be had on an anti-slavery issue, while Chief-Justice Taney presided, the torrent of events has swept away that fear even before the tide of time had swallowed up the Chief-Justice. And now Mr. Chase, an Abolitionist from his youth upward, who had long suffered obloquy and professional damage because of his offensive opinions, though they did carry him into the Executive chair of Ohio, into the Senate and the Cabinet, at last, Mr. Chase is made Chief-Justice of the United States in the room of Roger B. Taney! The elevation of Mr. Garrison to the Presidency were scarcely a more improbable occurrence. It is the most signal triumph of anti-slavery over slavery that our history has yet seen. His natural gifts and legal attainments we are assured are such as to be sure to do honor to the nomination—a nomination which we believe no disinterested man, free from bias towards slavery, will hesitate to pronounce one eminently "fit to be made."

We trust, however, that the new Chief-Justice will have no occasion to adjudicate upon any of the vexed questions which it has been apprehended might yet grow out of slavery. He certainly will not if Congress will but act upon the wise and statesmanlike suggestion of the President in his Message and pass the Amendment to the Constitution, out of hand. We are glad to see that the opinion is gaining ground that this Congress will fill up its measure of good works by this crowning glory. We know that the *Times* of this city, under pretence of magnifying the office and the President, affirms anew the Dana-Seward doctrine that the Proclamation, being a War measure, will end with the war, and that the Rebels by submitting in season may save what slaves have not been actually set free by the operation of the war. We are sure that this gloss belies as well as dishonors Mr. Lincoln. There is no sentence or word in his Message, or in any utterance of his since he made the Proclamation, on which such an inference can be hung. We trust it will be considered when the name of the Editor of the *Times* comes up (as it is said it will) as a candidate for an embassy. But a compliance with this advice of the President would prevent any possibility of any question of this kind being raised in any possible contingency. But should one come up we have no fear as to what the decisive judgment of the Supreme Court, with Chief-Justice Chase at its head, would be upon it. We do not believe that he, any more than the President, would consent "to return to slavery any person who is free under the terms of that Proclamation." And its terms include every slave in all the States and parts of States enumerated. But the safe, the sure, the right thing to be done, is, to change the fundamental law of the land by the act of the People in their sovereign capacity. Political chicanery and legal pettifogging will then have their *quietus* effectually given them, and they must seek material for political or professional capital in other directions. This is the first duty of Congress, after providing the sinews of the war, and it is the hope and expectation of the people that it will be done and that quickly. Delay, if not dangerous, is useless, and speedy and effectual action to this end is the readiest way to make a safe and honorable peace a possible blessing and another civil war an impossible calamity.

THE PRESIDENT'S RELIGION.—The following story we find going the rounds of the papers, credited to the New York *Chronicle*, a Baptist paper, which says it was related by a speaker at the Tenth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Teachers' Convention:

"A gentleman, known to the speaker, having recently visited Washington on business with the President, was, on leaving home, requested by a friend to ask Mr. Lincoln *whether he loved Jesus*. The business being completed, the question was kindly asked. The President buried his face in his handkerchief, turned away and wept. He then turned, and said: 'When I left home to take this chair of state, I requested my countrymen to pray for me; I was not then a Christian. When my son died, the severest trial of my life, I was not a Christian. But when I went to Gettysburg, and looked upon the graves of our dead heroes who had fallen in defence of their country, I then and there consecrated myself to Christ; *I do love Jesus.*'"

There is about this story an odor of *cant*, so unlike the President, that we suspect it was imparted by the speaker or his informant. But here is another story, told by the Washington *Chronicle*, which we must think illustrates a type of piety vastly superior to that indicated by the Sunday School orator:

"On Thursday of last week two ladies from Tennessee came before the President, asking the release of their husbands, held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man, and on Saturday, when the President ordered the release of the prisoners, he said to this lady: 'You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help *some* men to eat their bread in the sweat of *other* men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.'"

The President, says the *Chronicle*, considered the above his shortest and best speech.

THE ST. ALBANS RAIDERS have been released by the Canadian Court. Having found, upon an examination of the case, that if judgment were rendered upon the merits, the prisoners must be surrendered to the United States, the Court, to save them from a fate so disagreeable, suddenly concluded that it had no jurisdiction of the case, and thereupon turned the scoundrels loose. A strange decision, truly!

PERSONAL.

Rear-Admiral Farragut arrived at this port on Tuesday, and was received with high honor by the merchants. Further honors await the old hero.

The leading publishers and authors of New York have presented to Prof. Goldwin Smith more than a hundred volumes of American history, biography and general literature, by native authors, most of them standard works, a token of their recognition of his noble advocacy of the national cause.

The cause of the resignation of Gen. Neal Dow was, the delicate state of his health, induced by the privations and exposures to which he was subjected while a prisoner of war in rebel hands. He had no hope of being sufficiently restored for active service, for a long time to come, if ever.

A movement has been set on foot among the friends of the late Gen. Birney, at Philadelphia, to raise a fund for his widow and family; and the *Bulletin* states that the subscriptions already made are so large as to render it certain that an ample sum will be obtained. The project to erect a magnificent monument to his memory has been wisely abandoned. A proper monument will be put up, but the bulk of the fund contributed will be set apart for his widow and children.

We are indebted to the Hon. Charles Sumner for a copy of the "Report of the Secretary of War, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 26th of May, a copy of the Preliminary Report, and also of the Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission." These Reports make a pamphlet of 110 pages, invaluable for the facts it contains in relation to the Freedmen, and the light it sheds upon the most important problems of the war.

We see in the Bucks County (Pa.) *Intelligencer* of this week an announcement that the Hon. GEORGE THOMPSON will lecture as follows:

Trenton, N. J., Monday evening, Dec. 19.
Lambertville, N. J., Tuesday evening, Dec. 20.
Doylestown, Pa., Court House, Wednesday evening, Dec. 21.
Hatboro, Academy, 1 p. m., Dec. 22.
Newtown, Agricultural Hall, 1 p. m., Dec. 24.
Fallsington Meeting-House, 1 p. m., Dec. 25.

In all but the last named place his subject will be—"The Past, the Present, and the Future of the American Republic." At Fallsington it will be "The Freedmen."

Deacon John Phillips of Sturbridge, Mass., whose great age (104 years) has been the theme of much remark recently, has just received the following letter from President Lincoln:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I have heard of the incident at the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the psalmist's limit cannot but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country, which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you.

Your friend and servant, A. LINCOLN.

A large meeting of merchants was held in Philadelphia on the 7th inst., at which resolutions were adopted presenting the name of John W. Forney as the candidate of Pennsylvania for a position in the Cabinet, in the event of a reconstruction. It is said that delegations have gone to Washington to urge the appointment of Col. Forney as Secretary of the Interior in the event of Judge Usher's going upon the bench, or as Secretary of the Navy in case Secretary Welles should accept the embassy to France. We have nothing to say against Mr. Forney, and should not be displeased to see him in the Cabinet; but we dislike this system of political *boosting*, which usually proceeds from combinations of men who are seeking for contracts or subordinate offices.

The Editor of the Cambridge (Md.) *Intelligencer*, having heard the speech lately made by Frederick Douglass in Baltimore, says:

"He spoke nearly three hours, and during all that time not a man or woman left the church: nor, so far as I could observe, evinced the faintest indication of weariness. I have heard a great deal, and read much more about orators holding their audiences entranced and spell bound, but these phrases seemed ridiculously extravagant until Douglass came. Securing from the first the earnest attention of his auditors, they soon became apparently oblivious to all else but the orator and his theme. . . . Upon the whole, it was a masterly effort—in sterling sense, philosophical judgment, solid reasoning and sublime thought, far surpassing anything I ever heard. And in the not far off future, when the prejudices of the hour shall have been swept into oblivion, Americans will not only delight to honor him as one of their first orators, but likewise as one of the brightest in their galaxy of intellectual stars."

The efforts to erect a monument over the grave of Owen Lovejoy, whose recent death is so deeply lamented, appear to have moved the loyal citizens of Alton, Ill., to adopt measures for honoring the memory of his brother, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was murdered in that place in 1837 for his persistent efforts to maintain the freedom of the press. At a meeting held in Alton, Nov. 25, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. W. C. Flagg, L. A. Parks and M. G. Atwood, was appointed to take such steps as they might deem necessary to secure the permanent organization of an Alton Lovejoy Monument Association. The Alton *Telegraph* well says that the murder of Lovejoy was a crime for which the spirit of that time, rather than the citizens of Alton, should be held responsible. The erection of a monument to Lovejoy will be an appropriate expression of the wonderfully changed state of public opinion since he was sacrificed by it, and the initiation of this tribute by Alton cannot fail to reflect well-deserved credit upon that city.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* says: "Justice to the President requires it to be said that there is not now believed to have been at any time, any serious doubt in his mind about the appointment, but he was so seriously pressed by his warm, personal friends, and by Mr. Chase's bitter, personal enemies, that his tendency was to keep off the decision." The correspondent of the *Independent* says:

"Mr Lincoln is, a humorous man, and he seems to have enjoyed the pleasant surprise of Mr. Chase's friends and the confusion of his enemies. He kept his secret well, if it is a fact, as some of his friends claim, that he has never thought of appointing any one else to the place. A day or two before the nomination was made out, Mr. Lincoln said to a very intimate friend, 'Mr. Chase's enemies have been appealing to the lowest and meanest of my feelings. They report ill-natured remarks of his upon me and my Administration. If it were true that he made them, I could not be so base as to allow the fact to influence me in the selection of a man for the Chief-Justiceship.' It may be true that the President for a time hesitated as to his course, though this is not certain; but it should be everywhere known that he nominated Mr. Chase after that gentleman's enemies had exhausted all honorable and dishonorable means to persuade him—the President—the other way. The privacy of the domestic circle was invaded to accomplish their purpose, and then they failed. The enemies of Mr. Chase were few in number, as compared with his friends; and in character and position they were of less importance than in numbers. Thurlow Weed and James Gordon Bennett, next to Montgomery Blair, are his bitterest foes, and the President would not take the advice of such men in such a matter, nor would he care much for their enmity. Weed came down here to see if he could not prevent the nomination of Mr. Chase, and Bennett made good use of his *Herald* to the same end, but all to no purpose."

A DISTINGUISHED citizen of New England, who has done his country good service not only as a philanthropist but as a soldier, in a letter enclosing pay for his paper, says:

"The STANDARD has been, for many years—among the many papers I receive—the chief point of attraction to me, and my interest in it remains undiminished. Its sound, practical views of public affairs, pending the late Presidential election, and the eminent wisdom of its course, inspire me with renewed confidence in the good judgment and patriotism of those who conduct it."

☞ PLEDGES made to the *American* or the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies* are now payable; and it is earnestly requested of all who may be owing such to forward the amount of their pledges, without delay, to the Treasurers of those Societies respectively, or to Samuel May, Jr., 221 Washington Street, Boston.

LETTER FROM SOJOURNER TRUTH.

THE STORY OF HER INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT.

[The following letter from SOJOURNER TRUTH, written by a friend at her dictation, was addressed to Rowland Johnson, who has kindly handed it to us for publication. Our readers will be glad to see Sojourner's own account of her visit to the President.]

FREEDMAN'S VILLAGE, Va., Nov. 17, 1864.

DEAR FRIEND: I am at Freedman's Village. After visiting the President, I spent three weeks at Mrs. Swissheim's, and held two meetings in Washington, at Rev. Mr. Garnet's Presbyterian Church, for the benefit of the Colored Soldiers' Aid Society. These meetings were successful in raising funds. One week after that I went to Mason's Island, and saw the Freedmen there, and held several meetings, remained a week and was present at the celebration of the Emancipation of the slaves of Maryland, and spoke on that occasion.

It was about 8 o'clock, a. m., when I called on the President. Upon entering his reception room we found about a dozen persons in waiting, among them two colored women. I had quite a pleasant time waiting until he was disengaged, and enjoyed his conversation with others; he showed as much kindness and consideration to the colored persons as to the whites—if there was any difference, more. One case was that of a colored woman, who was sick and likely to be turned out of her house on account of her inability to pay her rent. The President listened to her with much attention, and spoke to her with kindness and tenderness. He said he had given so much he could give no more, but told her where to go and get the money, and asked Mrs. C——n to assist her, which she did.

The President was seated at his desk. Mrs. C. said to him, "This is Sojourner Truth, who has come all the way from Michigan to see you." He then arose, gave me his hand, made a bow, and said, "I am pleased to see you."

I said to him, "Mr. President, when you first took your seat I feared you would be torn to pieces, for I likened you unto Daniel, who was thrown into the lions' den; and if the lions did not tear you into pieces, I knew that it would be God that had saved you; and I said if He spared me I would see you before the four years expired, and he has done so, and now I am here to see you for myself."

He then congratulated me on my having been spared. Then I said: "I appreciate you, for you are the best President who has ever taken the seat." He replied thus: "I expect you have reference to my having emancipated the slaves in my proclamation. But," said he, mentioning the names of several of his predecessors (and among them emphatically that of Washington), "they were all just as good, and would have done just as he had done if the time had come. If the people over the river (pointing across the Potomac) had behaved themselves, I could not have done what I have; but they did not, and I was compelled to do these things." I then said: "I thank God that you were the instrument selected by him and the people to do it."

He then showed me the Bible presented to him by the colored people of Baltimore, of which you have no doubt seen a description. I have seen it for myself, and it is beautiful beyond description. After I had looked it over, I said to him: "This is beautiful indeed; the colored people have given this to the Head of the government, and that government once sanctioned laws that would not permit its people to learn enough to enable them to read this Book. And for what? Let them answer who can."

I must say, and I am proud to say, that I never was treated by any one with more kindness and cordiality than were shown to me by that great and good man, Abraham Lincoln, by the grace of God President of the United States for four years more. He took my little book, and with the same hand that signed the death-warrant of slavery, he wrote as follows:

"For Aunty Sojourner Truth,
"Oct. 29, 1864. A. LINCOLN."

As I was taking my leave, he arose and took my hand, and said he would be pleased to have me call again. I felt that I was in the presence of a friend, and I now thank God from the bottom of my heart that I always have advocated his cause, and have done it openly and boldly. I shall feel still more in duty bound to do so in time to come. May God assist me.

Now I must tell you something of this place. I found things quite as well as I expected. I think I can be useful and will stay. The Captain in command of the guard has given me his assistance, and by his aid I have obtained a little house, and will move into it to-morrow. Will you please ask Mrs. P. or any of my friends to send me a couple of sheets and a pillow? I find many of the women very ignorant in relation to house-keeping, as most of them were instructed in field labor, but not in household duties. They all seem to think a great deal of me, and want to learn the way we live in the North. I am listened to with attention and respect, and from all things I judge it is the will of both God and the people that I should remain.

Now when you come to Washington, don't forget to call and see me. You may publish my whereabouts, and anything in this letter you think would interest the friends of Freedom, Justice and Truth, in the STANDARD and *Anglo-African*, and any other paper you may see fit.

Enclosed please find four shadows (carte de visites). The two dollars came safely. Anything in the way of nourishment you may feel like sending, send it along. The Captain sends to Washington every day. Give my love to all who inquire for me, and tell my friends to direct all things for me to the care of Capt. George B. Carse, Freedman's Village, Va. Ask Mr. Oliver Johnson to please send me the STANDARD while I am here, as many of the colored people like to hear what is going on, and to know what is being done for them. Sammy, my grandson, reads for them. We are both well, and happy, and feel that we are in good employment. I find plenty of friends.

Your friend,
SOJOURNER TRUTH.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

THE members of the House of Representatives who desire to effect the passage through that body of the Joint Resolution—already adopted by the Senate—submitting to the States an Amendment to the Constitution for the prohibition of slavery, will, we are sure, be glad to receive and present petitions from the people in aid of that object. Such petitions, if numerously signed and promptly forwarded, may perhaps prove the very weights to turn the scale in favor of Justice and Liberty.

We are requested to state that blank forms of petitions for this object may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia. We have no such forms in this office, but print the following, which any reader can copy in five minutes:

To the U. S. House of Representatives:

The undersigned, citizens of ————, respectfully but very earnestly entreat you to pass the Joint Resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 8th of April, 1864, proposing to the Legislatures of the several States an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that slavery shall not exist in the country, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PORTRAIT OF HORACE GREELEY.—Derby and Miller, 5 Spruce street, have just published a portrait of the distinguished Editor of the *Tribune*, engraved on steel by Ritchie after a photograph by Brady. As a work of art it is equal if not superior to anything of the sort ever executed in this country, while as a likeness it is as near perfection as anything human can be. It gives the best expression of its subject, and is faithful to nature in every respect. A few proof impressions, on India paper, we understand, will be sold for $3; but the ordinary price is only $1. As it is of Imperial size, the price is an exceedingly low one.

HELP FOR THE FREEDMEN.—A meeting was held at Pittsburg on the 28th ult. to consider the claims of the freedmen. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Phillips Brooks and J. M. McKim, of Philadelphia, and W. F. Mitchell, of Nashville, and a Committee, composed of leading citizens, was appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting, and to act in conjunction with the State Freedmen's Relief Association.

A Freedmen's Relief Association has also been formed in Baltimore. The venerable and philanthropic John Needles is its President, and several eminent citizens are among the managers. The initiation of a system of rudimentary education among the freed people of Maryland, we learn, will be the first business of the association. Their plan is to establish a model school in Baltimore, and an elementary school at every prominent and inviting point in the State of Maryland.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, December 12th, 1864.

FOR two days past we have had alternations of snow, hail and rain, with a corresponding variety of temperature. The net result is that we have about six or seven inches of snow on the ground, though a much larger amount fell, and the Metropolitan Railroad Company came within an ace of being obliged to exchange their cars for sleighs on Saturday evening. The storm, however, did not prevent a considerable gathering in attendance on the meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Society in Ward Eleven. The President, Edward W. Kinsley, Esq., was in the chair, and an address was made by Edward Atkinson, Esq., formerly Secretary of the Educational Commission, setting forth the claims of the Society to high consideration from the justice as well as the humanity of our citizens. Spirited remarks were also made by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, Rev. Robert C. Waterston, and Mr. Perkins, a teacher in the Freedmen's Home, in the District of Columbia. An appeal was also read by the President in behalf of the freedmen in Virginia and North Carolina, and the sum of nearly five hundred dollars was collected for them.

The bad weather of Sunday interfered considerably with the ordinary attendance on public worship, but did not prevent Mr. R. W. Emerson's usual audience from assembling to hear his lecture in the evening at the Melodeon. This brilliant Essayist always draws together the chief culture and refinement of Boston, and the best minds among its visitors. Among the regular attendants on the present course is M. Laugel, eminent among the French writers who have espoused our cause in opposition to the favorers of the rebellion. Mr. Emerson's topics thus far have been "Education," "Social Aims," and "Resources," but he is never limited by the subject, and the attraction of hearing him is quite independent of any specification of topic. He glances from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven, and the centre has no power to keep him from the circumference. Thought and expression equally combine to make his lectures attractive, and the hearer carries away suggestions enough to stimulate and direct the whole week's thought.

It was an excellent idea of some of your citizens to collect a little library of subjects and writers distinctively American for presentation to Prof. Goldwin Smith, on his return to his native country. The Parker Fraternity in this city have voted to add to that collection the published writings, and the Biographical Memoir, of Theodore Parker. These documents, it may reasonably be hoped, will help some of our English friends to a juster idea of the past and present of our country and its people. By some of those friends, certainly, a very unsatisfactory use has been made of our frank exposition of the short-comings of the President and the nation. Those revelations, repeated and insisted on year after year, have never proceeded from a love of evil-speaking, still less from a disposition to injure our native land and promote her downfall. Vindicators of truth, righteousness and reform, we judged that plain speaking about our own errors and defects was the readiest means of obtaining their removal. Our fathers commenced with the noblest and most perfect theory of freedom that the world has ever seen. Unhappily, this was partially neutralized, from the very beginning, by a vicious opposing practice, contradicting the dialect of freedom which had gained acceptance and currency in the mouths of the whole nation. A lamentable state of things indeed! But was it nothing to have established the habit, in the daily speech of a great people, of claiming freedom as the birthright of every man born upon the face of the earth? When once our great sin is removed, our peculiar institution eradicated, the common currency and acceptation of this dialect of freedom will make a foundation for progressive reform such as no nation has ever enjoyed. The whole object of us, the Abolitionists, has been to advance this state of things; to bless, not to curse, to save, not to destroy, the land of our birth. Odious as slavery and caste are in our eyes, we should hold it the greatest of blunders to involve with these, in a common destruction, the many institutions here which take their origin from freedom and appropriately represent it. To crush the nation which has gone so far in its political education as to accept the highest theory of liberty, and to be prepared, therefore (the obstacle once removed), to reduce it to practice, would be the worst of treasons. Judge, then, of our amazement at hearing the conclusion, on the part of some of our English friends, that the present opportunity was a good one, not for active help in the extirpation of slavery, but for silent (or audible) acquiescence in the downfall of the United States! Heaven forbid that the United States should perish before paying her debt to the negro. Retribution she is having, and will have, for her sin; but let the fruits of repentance also be wrought in her, and let every lover of freedom, at home and abroad, give help to this end.

The omens are more favorable than ever before. The President's progress, represented by his Message to Congress, keeps pace with the step of the nation, manifested by the greatness of her vote against slavery and disunion. The President, in one respect, is better than his word—or rather, the re-elected Abraham Lincoln has outgrown that timid, hesitating, vacillating man who, in a moment of despondency, declared the Emancipation Proclamation to have been a blunder. (1.) The man who once proclaimed himself a mere follower of the people has now found nerve enough to say that if the people demand re-enslavement of the freedmen he will refuse obedience. Let us thank God and take courage, and further, do all in our power to arouse the nation to make an accelerated movement towards universal freedom.

Let every man have the suffrage. It were well if every woman also could have it, but we must not risk the loss of so great a step as the former, by complication. One thing at a time. And the gaining of the first will immensely facilitate the second. It seems to me that the best method, at once of clinching the nail of the abolition of slavery and preventing an interval of half-way oppression against the freedmen, will be to make every man a voter. Thus our two greatest dangers will be effectually averted. The next thing will be to institute measures as efficient and wide-reaching as possible, to secure intelligence on the part of the voters. But, since we have refused to make ignorance a bar in the case of Irish immigrants, it would not be fair to set up the plea of similar ignorance against these other new comers. Let us stick by the principle stated in the Declaration of Independence, that the right of the governing power depends on the consent of the governed. That being established in practice as well as in theory (as far as *men* are concerned), we can concentrate our efforts on the further reformatory movements needed.

A Mr. Hunnicut has been making addresses here on the effects of the rebellion in the Southern States, and telling "all that he saw, and part of which he was." He hails from Fredericksburg, though born in South Carolina, and seems to be a fair specimen of the middle class of Southern men. He represents himself as having been partly preacher, partly editor, and seems to have been led, like so many men, Southern and Northern, in these last years, by hatred of the rebellion into hatred of its cause, slavery. According to his statement, a frank expression of these opinions in speech and print has made him an outcast and a refugee, driving him from home and separating him from his family, and has occasioned the destruction, by mob violence, of the *Christian Banner*, of which he was twelve years editor.

His statement is that the men of the South had no ground of complaint against the North, and no just cause for rebellion; but they had become so accustomed to driving and dictating that they thought Jeff. Davis had only to command, and was sure to be obeyed. He thinks, however, that the eyes of so many have been opened by the events of the last few years, that Jeff. Davis no longer represents the South, and that a large portion of its population would gladly seize an opportunity to throw off the Confederate yoke.

Of the four principal sects at the South, he represents the Episcopalians as most aristocratic, the Presbyterians as most wealthy, and the Methodists and Baptists as most numerous. The many divisions of the denomination last named, however, prevent the power that would otherwise result from their numbers.

Universalists and Unitarians are almost unknown in the South. The people of that region are accustomed to place Unitarians, Universalists, Spiritualists and Abolitionists all in the same category, as detestable and dangerous. All these, however, said the speaker, will appear and increase in the South when the rebellion is overthrown, as it will be. "Blessed day," he exclaimed, "when a man at the South can speak the true sentiments of his heart without danger of being Lynched for it."

In the slave States, he says, beyond the cities, not one church in a hundred is ever lathed or plastered. With few and small exceptions, there are no free common schools. And tuition in the private schools, as well as in the academies and colleges, is very high.

There are three classes of people besides the negroes; the aristocracy, the middle class, and the poor whites. Of the last named, it is no exaggeration to say that not one in a hundred can read.

The reason why the Southern people, rich and poor, have united in fighting so desperately, he says, is because all are interested in slavery, either directly or prospectively. Every relative of one who owned a slave looked forward to the chance of becoming a slaveholder himself. The leaders told the poor whites that there would be no real fighting. Not a man in Virginia thought the war would last three months. They really expected that this short period would give them not only victory, but the extension and confirmation of slavery.

Where now, the speaker asked, are the Churches of the South? The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists were all united in defending slavery. Where are they now?

Their preachers are gone, many of them to the Confederate armies; and not merely as chaplains, but as officers and soldiers. Their congregations, their services, their ordinances are all gone, as well as their preachers. Sooner or later, said the speaker, their divinity will go also.

Their colleges, their academies and their schools are all broken up. And you know how it has fared with their homes. A man's wealth there was reckoned entirely by his negroes and his land. Now, the negroes are fast disposing of themselves, and the war has driven many of the land-owners from their land.

He considered slavery to have been annihilated. Jeff. Davis is constantly growing more and more unpopular, and he and the Breckinridge party are accused by the Southern people as the cause of all their troubles.

Mr. Hunnicut described feelingly the compulsory service in the Confederate army, now extending to all classes, the evils of the enormous depreciation of their currency, and the horrible sufferings of the bereaved and destitute families of Southern people. His indignation against the leaders who have brought on all these sufferings was expressed in the strongest terms. David, he said, was thought to have used intemperate language against his enemies; but it is evident that David had never known any one so bad as Jeff. Davis, or he would have used stronger terms of reproach. Job had certain afflictions to bear, and was able to bear them patiently; but if he had suffered such things as the people of the South now suffer from Jeff. Davis, his patience could not have held out as it did.

Mr. Hunnicut is seeking means to commence his paper again, and is lecturing, meantime, in support of the government and the country against the rebels.

It appears that Mr. Epes Sargent's excellent novel, "Peculiar," has had more or less circulation in the South, and the Richmond editors are now lifting up their voices against it. Meantime, a new edition is about to be issued by the publisher in your city, which it is to be hoped may find many new readers. It is good, and amusing, and instructive, and interesting, as well as "Peculiar." NORTH.

(1.) Has not our correspondent, in attributing this declaration to the President, given to current gossip the credit due only to public records? We ourselves have heard such a remark repeated as coming from the President's lips, but not on evidence that we deemed satisfactory.—*Editor.*

CONGRESS.

IN the Senate, on Monday, Mr. Wilson of Mass. presented the petition of Col. T. W. Higginson, praying for an amendment to the act of last session limiting the pay to those colored soldiers who were free on and before April 19, 1861. The petition was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. On the same day, Mr. Davis of Ky. presented a series of peace and compromise resolutions, so preposterous in their character as to be unworthy of a moment's attention. They were referred to the Judiciary Committee—to the sleep that knows no waking. Kentucky compromisers have had their day. On Tuesday Mr. Sumner introduced a bill, in accordance with the President's suggestion, to furnish Liberia with a gunboat, the Republic to pay for it by instalments. On the same day Mr. Wilson introduced a joint resolution to encourage enlistments in the army, by making free the wives and children of colored soldiers now held as slaves in the South. The resolution provides that the wife and children, if any he have, of any person that has been, or shall be, in the service, shall be forever free; and in determining who is the wife and who are the children of the enlisted person, evidence that he and the woman claimed to be his wife have lived together, associated as husband and wife, and so continued to live and associate at the time of enlistment, or that a form of marriage, whether the same was or was not authorized or recognized by law, has been celebrated between them, and that the parties thereto thereafter lived together, associated as husband and wife, and so continued to live and associate at the time of the enlistment, shall be deemed sufficient proof of a marriage, and the children of such marriage shall be deemed and taken to be the children mentioned in this act. Referred to the Military Committee.

In the House, on Monday, the Bankrupt bill passed—yeas 76, nays 56. On Tuesday Mr. Eliot of Mass. introduced a resolution declaring that the State of Louisiana may resume its political relations with the government of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on the Rebellious States. The resolution recommending the President to give the British government the notice required to terminate the Canada Reciprocity Treaty was passed—ayes 85, nays 51.

SOJOURNER TRUTH AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

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without a blemish, and by the help of God I mean to keep it so. Need I say more? I love my country, my God, and his people. I have shed my blood and left my *bone* upon the fields of Virginia, and am still willing to do all I can for the land of my birth. I am with you, heart and soul, in the cause of Justice, Liberty, and Truth. G. B. Carse, Captain V. R. C.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Dec. 11th, 1864.

Congress is getting ready for business, but has not accomplished anything thus far. The Committees are getting together and surveying the work before them, and will soon be hard at work. It is not to be expected, however, that very much will be accomplished before New Year's. There is a fortnight yet before the holidays, and it will be principally consumed in debating certain sections of the Internal Revenue laws. They sadly need amendment in many particulars, and especially because of the decisions made under them by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Secretary Fessenden, if he would save his reputation, should see to it that men are appointed to execute the Internal Revenue laws who are best fitted for it. Political considerations should not weigh a feather in the balance with the public good. Perhaps, however, Mr. Fessenden has a remembrance of Mr. Chase's difficulties with the President on a similar question. The department of Internal Revenue has never been so well managed as it was under Mr. Boutwell, and he would make an excellent head of a department. If Mr. Fessenden had refused to accept the Treasury Portfolio, it was the intention of the President (so I have been informed, on good authority) to have sent in the name of Mr. Boutwell to the Senate. We need such men in power in these hazardous and trying times. But I was speaking of the work before Congress. In the fortnight before the holidays it cannot be expected that very much business will be accomplished. The great political question of the session will be that of the admission of the Louisiana delegation to Congress. The investigation of the subject is now going on in the Senate and the House at the same time. The principle involved is one of vast importance. Will Congress recognize a State government formed under the auspices of military authority? Mr. Durant of New Orleans has filed a powerful protest against the admission of the delegation, on the ground that the so-called State government of Louisiana is a humbug. He shows (or attempts to show) that the people of Louisiana went into the rebellion under the forms of law, and that no vitality was left in the old government—hence the new one must emanate from the people, fairly and honestly. Military power cannot create a civil government, he holds, and he therefore objects entirely to the recognition of the *bogus* State organization (*bogus* according to his notions) and the admission of the Senators and Representatives elected to Congress under it. There is one fact, however, which is damaging to Mr. Durant, and it is this: he stumped Louisiana under this very "bogus" government for the opposing candidate for Governor. *His* candidate was beaten at the polls, and he now calls upon Congress to declare the election wholly void! It is a little too late for that so far as *he* is concerned. How the question will be decided one cannot tell yet. Congress will take time, however, to thoroughly consider it. The debate in the Senate upon it will be very thorough, for there is no "previous question" there which can limit the consideration of the subject.

Mr. Chase is Chief-Justice in spite of the predictions to the contrary. I frankly confess that, ten days ago, I supposed that there was no chance for him. I was misled by Mr. Chase's enemies, and by Mr. Lincoln's remarks to them. I am not yet satisfied on one point—whether the President from the outset was determined to appoint Mr. Chase, or whether he gave in to the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon him. His friends now claim that he chose to confuse his friends by pretending to uncertainty of mind on the subject. It is undeniable that some of the strongest men in Congress spent hours with him on the subject, and came away more or less discouraged—certainly not confident of Mr. Chase's nomination. It is not important, however, to know the truth—it is sufficient that Mr. Chase is Chief-Justice. *He* takes the right view of the matter. To some one who was discussing the point alluded to above in his presence, he said, "I shall interpret the President's act in the most friendly manner, and I trust that our personal relations will always be of the most friendly character."

It is astonishing that Montgomery Blair could himself have ever had any expectation of going upon the Supreme Bench, but it is a fact. Last Sunday he met a friend of mine near Willard's Hotel, and, in the course of a conversation, avowed that he was a candidate for a place upon the bench, and that he could only be cheated out of it "by the malignant machinations of Mr. Chase's friends." I quote a phrase from memory, as it was repeated to me. Blair will doubtless be cared for, and he doubtless deserves something from Mr. Lincoln, as he has been his warm personal friend at all times, defending him when other people, in and out of the Cabinet, were his enemies.

It is an immense satisfaction to know that we have at last a great Chief-Justice, and one who will regard the rights of black people as well as white. A most vigorous attempt was made in the Supreme Court last Monday, by a set of semi-rebels and Copperheads, to whitewash the character of Judge Taney. Reverdy Johnson, with that unblushing effrontery which is one of his characteristics, actually attempted to justify the Dred Scott decision. There was not the slightest necessity in the world for introducing the subject, but he chose to do it. One would suppose that Johnson has enough sins of his own to answer for without attempting to shoulder those of dead people. The only palliation of the Dred Scott decision is the fact that Judge Taney was narrow, and for many years had associated with men holding pro-slavery views. There is no other excuse.

As I mail this letter I hear of military movements of importance. Grant is moving at last—Sherman is emerging on the sea-coast—Thomas is strong in his position at Nashville. These are the rumors this morning. I hope they are true. We need military success again to make up for the dejection caused by Secretary Fessenden's report. That document has created a good deal of disappointment in monetary circles, because he fails to recommend any policy to Congress. It should be remembered, however, that Mr. Fessenden may do this through the appropriate Committees in the House and Senate.

The financial question is doubtless one of the most important before Congress. We are to conquer the rebels—*that* is certain—but it is by no means certain that we are to avoid national bankruptcy.

Thanks to your courteous correspondent "S. M." for his allusion to a hasty paragraph of mine in reference to the Constitutional Amendment. I have *now* no doubt that an attempt will be made to pass the Joint Resolution. Mr. Ashley of Ohio has the motion to reconsider in his hands, and can make it at any moment. I *hope* that two-thirds of the House will this time vote for the measure, but I have doubts as to the result.

Avon.

Aid for Freedmen from England.—The National Freedmen's Relief Association, which has its office at Nos. 1 and 3 Mercer street, in this city, has just received several thousand dollars' worth of articles for the use of the freedmen—the contribution of persons in England, through the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association. A large part of these contributions came from the Society of Friends in England, who have already subscribed seven thousand pounds—equal to thirty-five thousand dollars in gold—which with other contributions of liberal men in England, have been distributed to the freedmen through various agencies in this country.

The Association has appointed the Rev. Dr. D. C. Haynes, one of its Secretaries, an agent to go to England to solicit further aid. He is understood to have sailed in Wednesday's steamer.

Christmas Appeal for Poor Children.—The Children's Aid Society of this city has under its care thousands of poor children, to whom it proposes, if the public second its appeal, to give a joyful Christmas Festival. Festivals for no less than 12 schools and lodging-houses, in different parts of the city, will be given at different dates from the 22d of December to the 12th of January. Send to the Society's office, Clinton Hall, Astor Place, for a Circular, giving complete information as to the times and places of these Festivals. "Who will give a home to the homeless boys and girls? The expenses for this have increased, and will amount now to at least $20. Who will send money for a pair of shoes, or a hood, or a warm garment, or a bed-comforter for these destitute little ones? Who will give them a dinner? Articles and food will be sent for, if requested."

Donations may be sent (the object specified) either to the President, Wm. A. Booth, Esq., 95 Front street, or to the Treasurer, J. E. Williams, Esq., Metropolitan Bank, or to the Secretary, C. L. Brace, 11 Clinton Hall, Astor Place, New York.

THE THIRTY-FIRST
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was organized for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty years, through lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of anti-slavery publications, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the government to maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern Slaveholders' Rebellion. But slavery is not yet abolished, even in the Rebel States, except by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tenacious existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections of the country. Not until its utter extirpation everywhere should the American Anti-Slavery Society be disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the American soil. That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, inasmuch as the potential sentiment of the people in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inasmuch as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE!

Once more, then—and we trust for the last time—let the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, regenerated in their views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable labors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vindicating the rights of human nature on the broad platform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is especially deserving of consideration and coöperative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion, and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the government in its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the Subscription Anniversary hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfulness and the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, fullness, whatever the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, may feel disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering at Boston, on Wednesday evening, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose crown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through years of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence!

Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to William I. Bowditch, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly acknowledged and faithfully expended.

L. Maria Child,	Caroline M. Severance,
Mary May,	Elizabeth Gay,
Louisa Loring,	Mary Willey,
Henrietta Sargent,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Helen Eliza Garrison,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Elizabeth von Arnim,
Sarah Russell May,	Abby H. Stephenson,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Sarah Cowing,
Caroline C. Thayer,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Caroline R. Putnam,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Mattie Griffith,	Abby Francis,
Mary Jackson,	Georgina Otis,
Evelina A. Smith,	Katharine Earle Farnum,
Sarah Bradford,	Rebecca Bradford,

Ellen Wright Garrison.

New Publications.

The Wrong of Slavery, the Right of Emancipation, and the Future of the African Race in the United States. By Robert Dale Owen. Pp. 246. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

In the Spring of 1863, a Commission—consisting of Hon. Robert Dale Owen of Indiana, Col. James McKaye of New York, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston—was appointed by the Secretary of War to examine and report upon the condition of the recently-emancipated Freedmen of the United States. The object of the Secretary of War in instituting the Commission was, of course, not only to gain the information needed to enable him rightly to discharge his immediate duties to the suddenly enfranchised negroes, but to acquire a body of facts that should throw a clear light upon all the problems, political, industrial and economical, in respect to the African race in the United States, which the Rebellion has forced upon the attention of the government and the people. The Commission prosecuted its inquiries with great tact and diligence for more than a year, visiting all the principal places where the Freedmen are congregated, and not only seeing all they could see with their own eyes, but carefully taking the testimony of those best qualified to impart the information they sought.

The appointment of such a Commission was an act that reflected credit upon the intelligence, humanity and foresight of the Secretary of War, and the results have been alike important and satisfactory. The Commission, having gathered a large body of interesting facts, made a Preliminary Report on the 30th of June, 1863; and, after prosecuting its inquiries for another period of eleven months, submitted a Final Report to the Secretary of War May 15, 1864. These reports, it is understood, were both written by Mr. Owen, and as it was uncertain when they would be printed by the government, the Secretary of War kindly gave him permission to use and publish the materials gathered by the Commission in such form as he might judge proper. He therefore availed himself of this license in the preparation of the work now before us, of whose contents we propose to give our readers some account.

The work is divided into three parts, viz:

I. Slavery.

II. Emancipation.

III. The Future of the African Race in the United States.

Part I., filling 110 pages, is mainly historical, and is divided into eleven chapters, of which we give the titles, as follows:

1. Slavery as a Labor System.
2. Enslavement of Indians.
3. Substitution of the African for the Indian as a Slave.
4. Number of Slaves shipped from Africa.
5. How Slaves were obtained from Africa.
6. How Slaves were Transported from Africa.
7. What became of the Imported Slaves?
8. Strangely contrasting Fate of the Two diverging Streams.
9. Touching the Causes of Certain Marvellous Results.
10. Was there a Failure and a Success?
11. The Great Lesson.

Mr. Owen, in this part of his work, travels over ground more or less familiar to every intelligent Abolitionist, but careful and laborious research has enabled him to bring to light some very interesting facts to which other writers have not given due prominence. "The conclusion of the whole matter," he says, "is this: Reviewing, from its inception on this continent down to the present hour, the history of that great offence against humanity by which one race, in order to escape labor, usurps by violence and appropriates to itself the labor of another, we find the tendency of that usurpation is always to debase the usurpers, and, usually, to extinguish the laboring race, and that in the notable exception to this last rule the effects of this sin culminated in the bloodiest civil war that ever arose among men—of the horrors and sufferings incident to which we cannot even now see the end. If a calm review of this terrible episode in modern history bring no conviction that the crime which we are now expiating in blood must be atoned for, as crime can only be, by practical repentance—by thrusting out from among us the Wrong of the Age—argument will be unavailing. If, as all signs of the times appear to indicate, the nation has already attained to this conviction, then it behooves us to consider how we shall carry it into effect—whether and in what manner we can effect emancipation by loyal and constitutional means."

Part II. embraces four chapters, with the following titles.

1. A Mixed Question of Constitutional and International Law.
2. Constitutional Aspect of what is called Slave Property.
3. The Constitutionality of Emancipation in the Insurrectionary States.
4. The Constitutionality of Emancipation in the Loyal Slave States.

Mr. Owen's views as to "the constitutional aspect of what is called slave property" are quite original. He maintains that slavery, *as such*, is not recognized in the Constitution, but only a *property interest* in the *labor* of "persons held to service," whether for life or for a term of years, under State laws. Property of this sort, held by an enemy, is as liable to confiscation in time of war as any other; while in the loyal slave States the government may, as a military necessity, take such property for "public use," making therefor a "just compensation." This mode of dealing with the subject certainly has some striking advantages, and Mr. Owen's argument, we think, will carry conviction to many minds embarrassed by the habit of contemplating slavery, not merely as a property interest, but as an institution, hedged about by constitutional guaranties. Slavery, for aught that we can see, may be as effectually abolished by the simple confiscation of the "claims" of the masters to "the service or labor" of their slaves as by any other process; and if the constitutionality of this method is less liable to be impugned than that which deals more directly with the slaves, and with slavery itself as an institution, why not adopt it? We really wish that Congress might be induced to pass the bill which Mr. Owen has so carefully framed in accordance with his principle of constitutional interpretation. Such a law would at once make an end of slavery in Kentucky and Delaware, and while it would not interfere in any way with the President's Emancipation proclamation, it would, in certain possible contingencies, be more sure to work the freedom of all the slaves. There are those who contend that the Proclamation being strictly a war measure, will not ensure the freedom of any slave remaining in bondage when the insurgents lay down their arms. We do not admit this, but an act of confiscation, such as Mr. Owen proposes, would be open to no such cavil, and it could do no harm even if the Proclamation should not be paralyzed by the limited interpretation so strenuously contended for in certain quarters.

Part III. is divided into nine chapters, with the following titles:

1. Forebodings regarding the Fate of the Negro.
2. Do we need the Aid of the Negro as a Loyal Citizen?
3. Can the Negro, as Freedman, maintain himself?
4. The Emancipated Negro will make the South his Home.
5. Amalgamation.
6. Reciprocal Social Influence of the Races on each other.
7. Importance, nationally, that the Negro be treated with Justice.
8. The Freedman needs mere Temporary Aid and Supervision.
9. The Sum of our Duty towards the Negro Race.

Mr. Owen's doctrine is, that "no discrimination should be made, as to the civil or political rights of persons, because of color"; that "whenever we shall so have amended the Constitution" as to forbid such discrimination, "the path before us will be plain and safe. But short of entire justice there is no permanent security." It is a cheering sign of the times, that a man who, until the breaking out of the Rebellion, was a prominent and influential member of the Democratic party, sharing its prejudice against the negro as an inferior being, is found at length boldly enunciating the very principle which, for thirty years, the Abolitionists have sought to impress upon the minds and hearts of the American people. Well does Mr. Owen say (p. 196), "We have gathered, during the vast upheavals of the last three years, such experience as ages of undisturbed monotony might fail to furnish. Events have occurred which no human foresight could anticipate. Contingencies have arisen which not only convulse our political world, but stir to their foundations the social elements of society around us. The whites have changed, and are still rapidly changing, their opinion of the negro."

Mr. Owen holds that, as we have found need of the negro as a soldier to aid in quelling the rebellion, so also "do we require his assistance as pressingly, in the character of a loyal citizen, in reconstructing, on a permanently peaceful and orderly basis, the insurrectionary States." And, in further illustration of the subject, he says:

"The doubt which naturally suggests itself in opposition is, not whether loyal votes are urgently needed, but whether by admitting the freedman to suffrage we may not seriously lower the average character of the constituency which, under our democratic system, elects to office State representatives, Congressmen, municipal authorities, a President, and other subordinate magistrates, and whether by such a step we do not risk the failure, or the degeneracy, of our republican system.

"It will suggest itself that the negro, while in slavery, was debarred from education, and that at this day few of the freedmen can either read or write. In addition to the ignorance resulting from this disability, we find vices among slaves just freed, which appertain to their former condition. Men who own no property do not learn to respect the rights of property. Men who are subjected to despotic rule acquire the habit of shielding themselves from arbitrary punishment by lying. Men who have never worked for themselves learn to shirk work which is to enure solely to the benefit of others. All this is to be taken into account. But with the extirpation of the cause the effect gradually ceases. In point of fact, it has been already found (as our commission satisfactorily verified) that the vices above referred to are not deeply rooted, and that each may be gradually eradicated by a proper appeal to the self-respect of the newly-made freedman and by a strict recognition of his rights. He is found quite ready to copy whatever he believes are the obligations connected with the rights of what he looks up to as the superior race, even if these prove a restraint upon the habits of license belonging to his former condition. He is found willing, also, to work for moderate wages if promptly paid, docile and easily managed, not given to quarrelling, of temperate habits, cheerful and uncomplaining if treated with justice and common humanity.

"It should be remembered, too, in estimating his capacity to exercise political rights, that slavery had rendered him wary and suspicious. The habit of the slave is, while assenting to whatever his master says, secretly to hold to his own opinion, and to act upon it whenever opportunity offers. His sagacity is developed. I do not think the freedman will be found a ready tool for the political demagogue.

"Upon the whole, we shall find it difficult to bring any argument against recognizing the political rights of the negro which does not apply against the principle of universal suffrage itself. Many regard the result of that principle as a practical failure, adducing in proof the fact that there are tens of thousands of voters among us incompetent and unworthy to act as such. Some have sought to obtain purity of elections by weeding out all foreign-born voters. But if suffrage is to be restricted by qualification, we must seek some stricter test of honesty and competence than the accident either of birth or of color.

"Under ordinary circumstances, it would seem not unreasonable that we should delay the recognition of the freedman's right to suffrage for a time until education and habits of freedom had prepared him to exercise it. We might delay if domestic tranquility prevailed, if the loyalty of those States chiefly inhabited by the negro were unquestioned. We might delay if we could dispense with his aid. But I am able to make no reliable calculation according to which we can dispense with it. When we shall first proceed to reconstruction, one third of all the white population of the South is a full estimate for the proportion we are likely to find honestly and earnestly disposed to aid us in the work; that is, one-sixth only of the entire population, white and colored. But can we safely proceed to organize a republican government in any country on the basis of one-sixth of its population? Should we evince common sense in attempting to do so, when we can have three-sixths more to aid that small band of Southern loyalists in their arduous task?

"God, who made the liberation of the negro the condition under which alone we could succeed in this war, has now, in His providence, brought about a position of things under which it would seem that a full recognition of that negro's rights as a citizen becomes indispensable to stability of government in peace.

"In view of such considerations it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, before receiving back into political fellowship the insurgent portions of the Union, it should be legally established, as one of the principles imperative in reconstruction, that all freemen shall be legally secured in equal rights—thus practically carrying out the section of the Constitution which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government.

"From the observations made in various sections of our country which as a member of our commission it became my duty to visit, I do not believe that in accepting this necessary aid we incur risk of admitting into our system of government an element of deterioration."

In reply to the question, "Can the negro, as freedman, maintain himself?" Mr. Owen says:

"My own observations, together with the evidence obtained from persons having much experience among freedmen, justify the conclusion that the African race, as found among us, lacks no essential aptitude for civilization, yields willingly to its restraints, and enters with alacrity upon its duties. His personal rights as a freedman once recognized in law and assured in practice, there is little reason to doubt that the negro will become a useful member of the great industrial family of nations. Once released from the disabilities of bondage, he will somewhere find, and will maintain, his own appropriate social position.

"What that precise position will be—whether we shall find a fair proportion of our colored population worthy competitors with whites in departments of art and science and literature—we have at this time no means of determining. The essential is, that the enfranchised negro is as capable of taking care of himself and his family as any other portion of our people. On no one point have our commission found more convincing testimony than on this.

"In the cities of New Orleans, Washington, Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, and elsewhere, we found a numerous free colored population supporting themselves, under grievous and depressing disabilities, without any aid whatever even from those legal sources appointed for the relief of indigent whites. They are not admitted to almshouses. They obtain no county or parish relief. Scarcely any beggars are found among them. Like the Quakers, they maintain their own poor. When a case occurs in which a family is unable to meet the expenses of sickness, or perhaps the cost of a funeral, it is among themselves alone that a subscription-paper (usually called a 'pony purse') passes, in aid of the sufferers.

"A striking incident, illustrative of this peculiarity among them, came to the knowledge of our commission when visiting St. Louis. At the commencement of the war there were about five thousand free colored people in that city. During a portion of the years 1861 and 1862, in consequence of the disturbed condition of Missouri, and the frequent raids which desolated that State, great distress prevailed, and many persons from the country, both white and colored, took refuge in St. Louis. Wages fell to twenty-five cents a day; and even at that low rate labor was scarce.

"Under these circumstances, the suffering was so general that great exertions were made for its relief. For many months throughout these two years the city expended two hundred dollars a month to keep the unemployed from starving, and, in the Winter season, from freezing. The Provident Association spent five thousand dollars; the Society of St. Vincent de Paul ten thousand. Private individuals contributed largely. In the management of these various charities no discrimination was made as to color. The total number relieved was about ten thousand, and out of that number two persons only were colored. There were but two *applications* for relief from colored persons—both women; one bed-ridden, the other a cripple. These facts were communicated to the commission by the Register of the City of St. Louis—a gentleman who was himself one of the managers in the distribution of the relief-funds referred to. The testimony of all the gentlemen concerned in the management of the various relief-societies was, he said, to the same effect—that 'the colored people asked for nothing.'"

Mr. Owen holds that "the home of the American negro is in the Southern States," and that, if it be made a *free* home, he will neither seek nor desire any other. But he repudiates the idea that negroes and white people cannot live together on terms of mutual respect and good-will.

"It will have a tendency to increase harmony between the two races, if the colored people, whether in the North or the South, refrain from settling in colonies or suburbs by themselves; for such separation tends to keep up alienation of feeling and to nourish the prejudices of race. They will do well, therefore, to mingle their dwellings or farms with those of the whites; for the effect of this will be to take off the edge of national prejudice and weaken the feeling which regards them as a separate and alien race."

Mr. Owen believes that the effect of this free commingling in social life will not be to introduce amalgamation between the two races. The evidence obtained by the Commission, he thinks, goes to show that, at least, in a Northern climate, the mixed race is inferior to either of the progenitors. His argument, however, let us observe, rests not at all upon social, but exclusively upon scientific grounds, and does not imply the inferiority of either race to the other. And even upon this ground the argument is not urged as conclusive, but only as a "seeming probability"; and he candidly says, "it behooves us to abstain from confident generalizing in the absence of more exact and more extended statistical data." *If* "the amalgamation of the two races is in itself a physical evil injurious to both," it is difficult to resist Mr. Owen's conclusion, that it "ought to be discouraged by public opinion, and avoided by all who consider it a duty, as parents, to transmit to their offspring the best conditions for sound health and physical well-being." Be it remembered, however, that this conclusion is still barred by an "If," and that the point is one upon which scientific men are by no means unanimous. The discussion, within its own proper scientific limits, certainly cannot be regarded as invidious. The question, moreover, as Mr. Owen expressly admits, is not within the sphere of legislation, but must be decided by every individual for himself.

Mr. Owen holds that "the social influence of the two races on each other, so soon as their reciprocal relations are based on justice, will, beyond question, be mutually beneficial. There are," he says, "elements in the character of each calculated to exert a happy influence on the other." In the Anglo-Saxon race there is a certain hardness—the head predominates over the heart. In the African race the social instincts maintain the ascendant. "The softening influence of their genial spirit, diffused throughout the community, will make itself felt as an element of improvement in the national character." On the other hand, the negroes will learn much and gain much from free intercourse with the whites. "They will gain in force of character, in mental cultivation, in self-reliance, in enterprise, in breadth of views, and in habits of generalization."

Mr. Owen shows the importance, on high national grounds, of treating the negro with justice. The rebellion can be thoroughly and speedily put down in no other way. The future welfare of the white race in our country is indissolubly connected with justice, on their part, toward the blacks. "Let us," he says, "bear in mind that with governments, as with individuals, the crucial test of civilization and sense of justice is their treatment of the weak and the dependent." The freedmen, he thinks, needs mere temporary aid or supervision. There is danger that, under the guise of guardianship, slavery, in a modified form, may be practically restored. A Freedman's Bureau is needed, "not because these people are negroes, only because they are men who have been, for generations, deprived of their rights." The freedman should be treated at once as any other free man. He should be subjected to no compulsory contracts as to labor. There should not be, directly or indirectly, any statutory rates of wages. The natural laws of supply and demand should be left, in all cases, to regulate rates of compensation and places of residence. All aid given to these people should be regarded as a temporary necessity; all supervision over them should be provisional only, and advisory in its character. The sooner they can learn to stand alone and to make their own unaided way, the better both for our race and for theirs.

We wish the leaders of the Union party might be persuaded to provide a fund adequate to secure a careful gratuitous distribution of this work, in every part of the country, among those who, needing the information it contains, would be willing to read it. It would be the cheapest as well as the most effectual mode of electioneering for the Union cause. Ten thousand dollars judiciously spent for this purpose in any closely contested State, while no election is pending, would win more votes to the right side than a hundred thousand dollars spent during the excitement of an electioneering canvass; and converts once made by this means would not backslide, while voters whose support is won by the usual party appliances cannot be permanently depended upon, because, not clearly apprehending the principles involved, they are liable to be swept away by appeals to passion and prejudice. Massachusetts gives 75,000 majority for an anti-slavery Administration because her people, educated by the anti-slavery movement, have an intelligent hatred of slavery and an equally intelligent appreciation of the duty and safety of emancipation. Connecticut and New Hampshire are closely contested States only because the people are not sufficiently enlightened. Thousands of honest men vote on the pro-slavery side because they totally misapprehend the facts in the case. Put Mr. Owen's book into their hands, to be read at the Winter fireside, and it would convert enough of them to make those States as sure as Massachusetts for the Union cause.

The Edinburgh Review for October (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker st.) contains nine articles, entitled as follows; 1, Angus; 2, Coniferous Trees; 3, Archbishop Whately; 4, Coöperative Societies in 1864; 5, French Anti-Clerical Novels; 6, Man and Nature; 7, Weber's Life of Marshall Saxe; 8, Robert Browning's Poems; 9, The Five-Year-Old Parliament.

Blackwood's Magazine for November presents the following table of contents: My Latest Vacation Excursion, Part I.; Tony Butler, Part XIV.; Enoch Arden; The History of Our Lord; Cornelius O'Dowd upon Men and Women, etc., Part X; Banting on Corpulence; The Three-foot Rule; Gen. McClellan. L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker street.

The Friend of Progress.—We ought before now to have spoken a welcome to this new monthly, of which two numbers have been issued. It aims to give expression to the most advanced thought of the time in respect to man's relations to God and his fellow-men, to foster and promote the piety which is "zealous of good works" rather than creeds and forms, and to be a medium of acquaintance and communion between the lovers of truth and progress in the various departments of human thought and endeavor. The Editor is Mr. C. M. Plumb, who brings to his work high aspiration, an elevated moral purpose, and practical talent and experience which can hardly fail of success. Among the contributors are Rev. O. B. Frothingham, T. W. Higginson, S. B. Brittan, Dr. R. T. Hallock, A. J. and Mary F. Davis, Anna Gardner, and J. K. Ingalls. Terms, $2 in advance. Address C. M. Plumb & Co., 274 Canal street, New York.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The news from Gen. Sherman is important. An official telegram from Secretary Stanton to Gen. Dix, dated Tuesday, gives the contents of a dispatch from Gen. Grant, which announces that Richmond papers of Monday and Tuesday, state that Gen. Sherman's army was drawn up in line of battle only five miles north of Savannah. No engagement had occurred up to Monday, so far as was known; but telegraphic communication with Savannah was interrupted, and the rebels, therefore, could scarcely know what was going on there.

Gen. Warren, with a force from the Army of the Potomac, has been on an expedition to the South for the purpose of destroying the Weldon railroad and inflicting damage upon Lee's line of communications to a point as far South as was practicable. The force penetrated as far as Hicksford, on the Meherrin river, 48 miles south of Petersburg, completely destroying the railroad the entire distance, burning bridges and ties, bending the rails by heat, etc. The troops safely returned to camp on Sunday and Monday.

Nashville is closely besieged by the rebel army under Hood, but it is believed that Thomas will hold the city. On the 4th inst., two regiments of Thomas's colored troops made a reconnoissance of the enemy's position, and very nearly captured Gens. Frank Cheatham and Lowry, who secured their escape through the fleetness of their horses.

Gen. Dana, by a successful expedition from Vicksburg, has destroyed the Mississippi Central railroad for thirty miles above the Big Black river crossing, including the long bridge at that place. He found the enemy in force, but the work was thoroughly done.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

PRUDENCE OF THE NEGRO.

A bundle of bank deposit books of the savings of Co. H, 35th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops, Lieut. H. W. Batcheller commanding, now stationed at Jacksonville, Florida, has been exhibited to us. The deposits were made in one of the savings banks of this city. We can but consider this as a curious development of the times, and a striking evidence of the advance from slavery and ignorance to knowledge and civilization of the blacks of the South. The amount deposited is about $2,000.—*Boston Journal.*

COLORED RECRUITS.

The Secretary of War has decided that colored recruits are entitled to the same bounty as white recruits, viz.: one hundred dollars for one year, two hundred dollars for two years, and three hundred dollars for three years. Representative recruits are also entitled to this bounty without regard to color.

NEGROES RECRUITING IN MISSISSIPPI.

A negro man belonging to Mrs. Townsend was hung by the citizens near Duck Hill, Carroll County, on Thursday last. He was raising a company of negroes to go to Memphis. When he was overtaken he resisted so defiantly that he had to be shot before surrendering. He was then tied and hung. Many other negroes were implicated in the move.—*Grenada Picket, Nov. 1.*

BLACK REFUGEES.

The correspondent of the N.Y. *Times*, writing from the squadron off the Texan coast, says: Not long ago a boat was picked up near Sabine Pass, with three slaves on board, refugees from Sabine. Four days and nights they had been drifting upon the sea, without one morsel of food, or one drop of water. Two of them were so weak that they could hardly stand, and the third one was beginning to fail. They said that they ran away to escape the cruelties and punishment inflicted on them by the soldiery. It was all by luck and chance that they were saved. They were first seen by a coal schooner, and taken to the Galveston blockading fleet. I suppose, from what I am told, that to one person that escapes in this way, there are ten that fail in the attempt, and to the one that fails, there are ten that dare not try. Patrols are stationed on the beach, the small boats are destroyed or closely guarded, spies and assassins are on every street, and every means taken to keep the loyal-hearted persons in bondage.

GOOD WORK OF A COLORED CAVALRY REGIMENT.

Writing from Vicksburg, Col. Osband, now commanding a colored cavalry regiment, says:

I have just returned from the longest scout made since I have been in the brigade. I left here twelve days since with twelve hundred men and four pieces of artillery; landed at Bruinsburg, Miss., from there to Rodney, from Rodney to Natchez by the way of Fayette. Left Natchez by boat, went to Tunica Bend, landed and marched on Woodville, from Woodville to Fort Adams, from Fort Adams to Woodville, from Woodville to Natchez, and thence to Stearn's House.

I captured one thousand beef cattle, four hundred and fifty horses and mules, seven army wagons and mules, burned seven hundred thousand dollars worth of corn stores at Woodville, cut and destroyed the telegraph for miles, captured a half dozen rebel mails, with important information, also two hundred and fifty stand of small arms, three pieces of artillery, one caisson, two hundred and fifty rounds fixed ammunition, eighty-two prisoners of war, one captain and two lieutenants, killed fifty-eight rebels, including one major and one lieutenant, and only lost two killed and five slightly wounded.

GEN. BANKS'S MILITARY DISCIPLINE REPUDIATED.

In January or February last, Gen. Banks dismissed from the service of the United States, without trial, six officers of the Fourth Infantry, Corps d'Afrique, by "special order." Their names were Capts. C. A. Goff, W. H. Knapp, G. E. Wentworth, and J. Miller, Lieuts. W. H. Odell, and H. E. Blakerlie. They were aggrieved at this "summary process," and appealed to the President for redress. He caused the order of dismissal to be revoked, and ordered the officers back to the Department of Louisiana for trial by court-martial. The charges against them were "conduct unbecoming officers and gentlemen," and "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline." They recently had their trial at Port Hudson. Each pleaded not guilty to the charges, and each was found "not guilty," and the court thereupon did "acquit" each of them, and restored them to their commands. They had received some pretty hard treatment at the hands of a brigadier-general at Fort Jackson, before the President interposed.—*Commonwealth.*

ORGANIZATION OF THE COLORED CORPS IN BUTLER'S ARMY.

Special Correspondence of the Philadelphia Press.

Before Richmond, Dec. 6, 1864.

The long projected scheme of organizing all the negro troops into a separate corps has at length been put into practical operation. It is now under full headway, successfully working in all its details, with every promise of equaling the expectations of those who have so long cherished this their favorite project.

Gen. Weitzel commands the Corps d'Afrique, while the 1st, 2d and 3d Divisions are marshaled by Generals Payne, Birney, and Heckman. It was generally expected that Brig.-Gen. Wild would have had a command in this corps, but it seems that it has been decided otherwise.

The most remarkable fact about this organization is that the rebels seemed to know just when it went into effect. Day before yesterday the necessary movements towards carrying out the project began, and early yesterday morning the enemy's pickets wanted to know when the "smoked Yankees" were to confront them. It was generally supposed that the Johnnies might be disposed to fire upon these "smoked Yankees," but it is now understood that they will be sufficiently agreeable to bear their presence. This determination was no doubt quickened by the reflection that our colored troops are similarly supplied with weapons, and because the enemy has never known them to hesitate to meet him on any terms which he might feel disposed to offer.

Considerable complaint, and very justly, too, is being made by the surgeons at the field hospital, that colored soldiers are continued with their regiments too long after it is evident that they are threatened with a protracted illness. Patients are frequently sent to the hospital in a dying condition, when, if they had been forwarded earlier, they might have been benefited. The complaint most prevalent is the lung fever, which has proved fatal in many cases.

The difficulty of colored troops being discharged from the service is illustrated in the cases of about a dozen men in the 4th U. S. C. T., whom the surgeon has declared unfit for duty, and sent to the base hospital for examination to that effect. These persons are all incapacitated by honorable wounds received, and are manifestly disabled from military duty, yet the surgeons at the hospital have refused to examine them, and returned them to their regiments with the consolation that they will be sent back as often as the surgeon forwards them to the hospital. Should there be an attack, these helpless persons would only tend to create a panic, as in their inability to defend themselves they would have to seek safety as best they could in flight.

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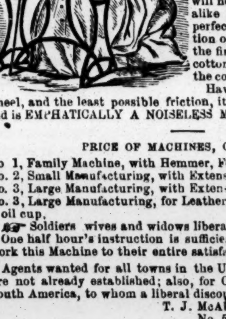

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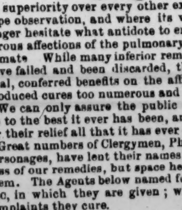

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Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

OLUSTEE.

Down in the Florida swamp,
Where the dark cypress is growing,
Down in the evergreen glade,
Where the red blood has been flowing,
Where all the stems of the trees
Marks of the bullets are keeping,
Where all the bushes, downtrampled,
Show where the battle came sweeping.

Down in the Florida swamp,
Where our true heroes are lying,
Green spring the ferns from the soil
They have made holy by dying;
There the thrush calls to her mate,
'Stead of the musket's sharp ringing;
There, on the fire-scathed bough,
Redbird to redbird is singing.

Down in the Florida swamp
Men to their duty stood bravely,
Facing the thickets of death
Steadily, firmly, if gravely,
Sure that, though low they might lie,
And their graves should o'erbridge the morass,
Over that bridge to renown
Their race and their nation would pass.

Down in the Florida swamp,
Dying far rather than failing;
Speaketh the land of her sons,
Gladly and not with bewailing;
Saith: "Where such pathways are made,
Bridging my swamps and morasses,
Swear I by life and by death,
Over them Liberty passes."

ELLEN MURRAY.

"THE SITUATION."

FRATERNITY LECTURE, BY WENDELL PHILLIPS,
Tuesday Evening, Dec. 6, 1864.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

Go back with me in memory for a moment for four years. Just after the election of 1860, standing on the same platform as now, I divided the North into three classes: First, the minority, defeated in the election contest, and ready for anything which might come up; second, a large class of Republicans, headed by Mr. Seward, ready to sacrifice anything to save the Union; third, the honest, earnest Republicans, determined to fulfil in office the pledges of the canvass. At the head of the last section I placed Abraham Lincoln, and justly, for however closely we may criticize the course of the President, no man can deny that in the four years of his Administration he has fulfilled the promises of the canvass.

To-day, at the close of another presidential election struggle, I would divide the nation into the same three classes; the defeated and the disaffected minority, the portion of the dominant party ready for dishonorable compromise, and the devoted men who propose to carry out in their policy the principles by which they stood in the campaign. And now, as before, I would place President Lincoln at the head of the last class.

The only question to-day is, What is the significance of the canvass just concluded, and does Abraham Lincoln understand it as we would have him, and is he able to fulfil its promise? It is possible that he may exactly interpret one great fact settled by the canvass—that there must be a Constitutional Amendment forever abolishing slavery—and stand manfully by that principle. But that one plank is too narrow for us to stand on. The necessities of the future are far greater than that single fact. To me the result of the canvass means a single nation from the Lakes to the Gulf, founded on the firm unity of one great idea. I therefore invite this audience to consider the indispensable elements of a real and durable nationality, who is to lead us in our effort to found it, and what immediate dangers beset our path in the attempt.

I am not contented at all with the present position of affairs. We stand in the world as a second-rate power. See the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit by England, the hasty recognition of the rebels as belligerents by Earl Russell six hours before Mr. Adams could arrive from Liverpool, the shameful story of the Alabama, and the patronizing manner in which the sympathy of our best friends abroad is imparted to us, as if we were little children among nations. We must never be satisfied with our nation, however unfettered our flag or our cannon, until our position in the world is so fixed that not even our friends will venture to insult us with our insignificance.

It is with nations as with individuals; to be truly great we must be animated by one great, predominant idea. All the greatness of America up to 1860, was owing to the fact that under the sham Republic there was actually a slaveholding oligarchy. All the energy of the nation was devoted to the one single purpose of perpetuating the slavery of the blacks. When anti-slavery opinion became strong enough to be felt in the North, the country was divided by conflicting elements, and America became, as she is now, a second-rate power. We never can be a truly great nation upon earth until we recognize one idea as predominant from the Lakes to the Gulf. It is no matter, as far as the extent and reality of the power to be wielded goes, whether the idea is freedom or slavery, whether Lincoln or Davis is the master. That is, for the first few years; for, of course, the power of freedom would be the only durable one. Massachusetts ideas must kiss the Gulf before we can be truly one and truly great.

Then, no great nation was ever founded on the blood of a single race. We have been wont to gratify our pride with the assumption of the purity of our race, the genuine, unmixed Anglo-Saxon. Such a pride is inconsistent with history. All great nations are a mosaic of races, indissolubly united and melted together. We never could have got along thus far with only the calculating, labor-saving, inventing Yankee, active with his brain and idle with his hands. We must have Germans to settle and till our Western territory, and Irishmen to build our network of railroads. And now, you all know where I am coming, to the blacks. Yes, we must make all races and colors of men revere and love the Union as the equal property of all, and then we may be truly strong and permanently great. After the eighth of November last we need know no Republicans, no Democrats, no conservatives, no radicals, but recognize all as Americans. So also we may give up our State pride of classification, and glory only in the one great name of America, which overshadows all else.

With all our interest thus in common, there should be a homogeneousness of culture and views pervading all our communities; and therefore I am not contented with the constitutional abolition of chattel slavery as the result of our efforts thus far, although that in itself would be an abundant reward for a life of agitation and constant effort. We must demand kindly an amendment of the Constitution providing that no State shall pass any law making any distinction among her citizens on account of race, color or nationality. The negro must have the ballot before our convulsion ends. He must have it, firstly, because it is right, and chimes with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. He must have it, secondly, because suffrage will be an educational institution for him. Whether barred out from the polls or not, the negro must be an element of our national life, and he should be taught a sense of his responsibility, which he can learn in no way so readily and clearly as from the power of voting on political questions as they arise.

The next condition of our redeemed nationality, according to the lecturer, must be the extension of our common schools to the Gulf of Mexico. The beauty of Grant's cannon is, that behind every one is a school-house, and when the cannon comes back the school-house does not. We want to mortage the wealth of the North for the education of the humblest child born within the limits of the empire.

The military horizon is so brilliant that there is every probability that within the next four years, the task of reconstruction is to test the statesmanship of the North. First in position stands President Lincoln. I will not quarrel now with Mr. Lincoln's peculiar policy or conduct, his definition of the duty of the chief magistrate to follow and not to lead the opinion of the people. We have got Mr. Lincoln and his principles for four years more. No matter if he neglected Massachusetts, thought it safe to leave her out in the cold, though she gave him 75,000 majority, while he folded Kentucky like a pet lamb to his bosom, and she went for McClellan. Of one failing Mr. Lincoln cannot justly be accused—of ever sincerely believing in McClellan. He bowed to him once, he bowed to him again, and, if we may believe the old man Blair, he would have bowed to him yet a third time; it was not because he believed in his generalship, but because he wanted to strengthen himself before the people, and regarded McClellan as the representative of a great and powerful party.

There is now going on in the Southern Confederacy a battle of ideas more important than any of Grant's engagements. One party is represented by Georgia, headed by the rebel Vice-President and by the Governor of the State, and, so far as we can see into the mist of the rebellion, is struggling to unhorse Davis, and to get the helm of the South out of the hands of the men at Richmond. The other side in the contest is represented by Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. If Georgia conquers in the internal struggle, there is great danger for us—if Davis triumphs, there is scarcely a cloud in our horizon. The class of rebels to which belong Stephens and the Georgia Governor would fight till they saw no more hope of success, then escape to some dirty port in Europe, and there lead dirty lives. Davis, on the other hand, is playing the great game of empire or the grave, the whole country or six feet by two. Jefferson Davis would not only free the slaves, but give every black man a patent of nobility to win success. He will offer no terms, but will be pushed to the Gulf inch by inch rather than succumb; and if Maximilian closes the door of Mexico against him, he will perish defiantly in the last great battle, rather than yield or fly. If Davis succeeds in the rebel quarrel, neither the magnanimity of Butler, the indifference of Lincoln, the greed of the merchants, nor the malignity of the Copperheads, can secure a dishonorable compromise peace.

But when peace does come, how will it make its appearance? Let us look the danger fairly in the face. I am ready, as I always have been, to admit Mr. Lincoln honest—with a qualification. He will doubtless reiterate his offer, made in the music of Niagara, and a fitting accompaniment to the cataract, of Union and Liberty. But it is the beginning of a bargain, which must be completed by something being abandoned. If Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, stand ready to return, and say, "As to Union, yes; as to the other condition, let every man actually freed by the army remain at liberty; let those whom the proclamation has strictly reached be free forever, and let every child born after 1865 be freed when he is twenty," would not the North be ready and glad to accept it? ("No, no!"—"Yes, yes!" by the audience.)

An immense majority of the North, as opinion now stands, would accept the terms indicated. He described the character of the Republican party in 1860, and thought that its power of resistance had been rather weakened than otherwise by the additions of the Bell and Everett men, old Whigs, and war Democrats to its ranks. The New York *Times* and Gen. Butler have both put on record the declaration that if the rebels will only submit to the flag, we will receive them with open arms; we will let Arkansas and Louisiana, poisoned by the policy of Gen. Banks, and all the other rebel States, come back, embittered by defeat, and take their places in the Union, with slavery still in existence in their borders. Go up and down Boston streets, not State street particularly, more than another, and two out of three men you may meet will say to you, by all means close the war on these terms.

The most continued and determined effort is necessary to prevent such terms of peace being accepted. He was not making a grain of difference now with Mr. Lincoln. The President he considered simply as a politician, who cannot be anything else, and must bend one way or the other. He referred to the message sent to Congress that day as the most noble document ever issued by an American Chief Magistrate, but the President only says he hopes for abolition, not that he expects it—he does not anticipate the passage of a Constitutional Amendment by this Congress, but a year hence. If Grant succeeds in the meantime, then come all sorts of offers, and the moment we make or receive a proposition for compromise, we can no longer have the opportunity of amending the Constitution.

He spoke no longer especially of the negro. God in this war has taken the negro out of the hands of the Abolitionists and placed him on the same level with the rest of us. He has the same interest as we in the Union as it should be. We may speak, therefore, for the whole country, and not for any race or color. The speaker said he should spend every effort, every year, every word, in making the flag, which he once hated as the symbol of oppression, but which now waves over all, represent a strong, prosperous and just nation. We must rest on no laurels, put unlimited trust in no man, have confidence in no party half educated to the demands of the hour. Our work has had its due results thus far. Freedom is the voice of the Chief Magistrate; suffrage the voice of the agitator. The last four years have made Mr. Lincoln, from an Abolitionist of the territories, an Abolitionist of the nation. Four years more of struggle, and trial, and blood, and agitation will perhaps place him on the still higher level of universal justice. Then only can the nation be safe.

WARD BEECHER ON APPLES.

THE apple is the unapproachable fruit of the world, the grape with all its romance notwithstanding. In the country of its origin, it is supreme, in America it is unsurpassed. In Europe certain classes having wealth and power, set the current of public opinion from centre to circumference, but in America, where the intelligence of the common people has wrought out such gigantic results in all departments of truth, the popular opinion determines from surface to centre.

"Popular" is a word which is much despised, but may be made respectable. In this country wealth is obliged to pay respect to popular opinion, and of all fruits the apple is the most democratic—the true democratic—for some democracy that we are acquainted with sprung from the first apple. This popular favor of the apple arises from the nature of the tree and the fruit. Any man who can grow corn can raise apples.

In every soil, and under the most discouraging circumstances, the apple tree lives and thrives. It can bear high or low cultivation. It is not dyspeptic like the peach, or apoplectic like the pear, or scrofulous like the plum. The apple is among the fruits like the cow among animals, like the camel, and like all good things, uncomely—for beauty is only the mask which covers everything that is evil. In the beautiful, evil struck in, and affects the whole vital organism, while in homely women it is on the surface.

Have you never seen the maiden who, in a whole family of girls, remains unmarried, so homely that the lovers have all passed by her, who was the nurse, the mother, the story-teller, to a generation of little ones—the Virgin Mary of the household—the mother of God to little souls in teaching them the better life—who was more fruitful in all except children than any of her kindred?

My perfect idea of woman is my dear old aunt Esther, who will spend ages in heaven wondering how she ever got there, and the angels will wonder why she was not always there. What such a one is to the household is the apple among fruits. Not the least among its excellences is its hardiness.

We should as soon think of coddling our forest trees as the apple tree. It will thrive in the stony lot too steep for the plough, or grow in the meadow, and repay us for the more abundant nutrition.

Where a mullen stalk or a hill of corn will grow the apple tree will contrive to secure an existence. It can be plain or ornate, always able to take care of itself—what I call democratic. It is emphatically the people's tree. In Florida or Canada it is equally at home, and equally good; while on the Pacific slopes it is portentous in size. Newton's apple, which originated in his brain the science of gravitation, had it grown in California, would have forever put an end to his discoveries, and have opened the heavens to his gaze.

The health and longevity of the apple tree are unsurpassed. Healthier than the pear, no blight or disease affects it; worms and insects may lodge upon it, but unbuckling its bark, it exposes them to the wind and storm. An acre of potatoes will not produce as much as the same area in orchard, with five times the labor. The grub only is a formidable enemy, but is so easily exterminated by a flexible wire, that if you have borers you deserved to be bored.

Farmers never think of nursing their orchards. And as for longevity, I have a tree now growing on my farm at least five hundred years old. Two ladies, now eighty years of age, say that in their childhood it was called the old apple tree. At twelve feet from the ground, it is fourteen feet ten inches in circumference; the fruit sweet and pleasant though not large. I do not expect to live to see my young trees reach that size. I cannot resist a feeling of respect and awe when I stand in the presence of this gigantic tree, which heard the cannonading of the Revolution, underneath whose branches Washington may have walked, musing upon the great task to which he was devoted

The wood of the apple tree has uses which we are not accustomed to credit it with. For fire-wood it is equal to hickory, and for cabinet work it is unsurpassed in beauty by any other wood. My best bureau is made of the apple wood, and resembles cherry. In Europe the roads are bordered with apple trees, and the fruit is free to the public, except where wisps of straw fastened to a tree indicate that the fruit is reserved for the owner of the land.

How adapted to such a use is the upright apple tree; planted along our roads there would be no temptation for those juvenile saints to rob our orchards. Of all the contrivances to prevent stealing this is the most certain and easy.

The origin of the cultivated apple is still uncertain; the wild-crab theory is unsettled, for no one has evidence that the seed of the crab apple ever produced an improved fruit. No Van Mons ever did for the apple what has been accomplished for the pear. Although probable, the theory must remain uncertain until, if by some horticultural Sunday school, the crab-apple has been converted into a good Christian tree.

No other fruit has such a range of ripening and of use. In good cellars it is kept from July to July. Kinds of delicate—and as the General Grant of the vine would say, "so refreshing," even the pear cannot rival, and not even the peach can surpass.

We can no more tire of apples than we can of bread. "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons of men. I sat down under his branches with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste. Stay me with flagons. Comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love." If this is the cure of love, the orchards of America can furnish an abundance of the remedy.

The various culinary uses of the apple, its value in raising and fattening stock, were touched by the reverend lecturer with great humor, and for an hour he held the audience delighted with his pictures of country life, interspersed with wit and pathos, until he closed with, "And let me not omit to speak of cider. Temperance has banished it from the table, but it is creeping back again, not in its own old homely name, but under the guise of champagne.

As a temperance man I cannot advise you to make cider, but I can say if you will make cider, I hope you will make it good.

I will not consume more of your time with those eloquent periods with which I had intended to close this address, for two reasons—first, it is already too long, and second, because I do not have them at hand.—*Address at Iona.*

STRANGERS YET!

STRANGERS yet!
After years of life together,
After fair and stormy weather,
After travel in far lands,
After touch of wedded hands,—
Why thus joined? why ever met?
If they must be strangers yet.

Strangers yet!
After childhood's winning ways,
After care, and blame, and praise,
Counsel asked, and wisdom given,
After mutual prayers to Heaven,
Child and parent scarce regret
When they part—are strangers yet.

Strangers yet!
After strife for common ends,
After title of old friends,
After passion fierce and tender,
After cheerful self-surrender,
Hearts may beat and eyes be wet,
And the souls be strangers yet.

Strangers yet!
Strange and bitter thought to scan
All the loneliness of man!
Nature, by magnetic laws,
Circle unto circle draws;
Circles only touch when met,
Never mingle—strangers yet.

Strangers yet!
Will it evermore be thus—
Spirits still impervious?
Shall we ever fairly stand
Soul to soul as hand to hand?
Are the bounds eternal set
To retain us strangers yet?

Strangers yet!
Tell not love it must aspire
Unto something other—higher,
God himself were loved the best
Were man's sympathies at rest;
Rest above the strain and fret
Of the world of strangers yet!
Strangers yet!

R. MONCKTON MILNES.

THE STORY OF A FREEDMAN.

Port Hudson Correspondence of the Christian Inquirer.

WE are so accustomed to number the refugees from slavery by the thousands that we lose sight of the hopes, efforts and experience of individuals. Thank God for the thousands! I rejoice in each new band of these voluntary exiles. They suffer; that is true enough. Oh, what wretched huts and condemned tents they live in! But they enter a school in which a new world is opened to them, and wherein they learn self-reliance and habits of thought. And, as if impelled by thirst for knowledge, they brave all dangers to reach this school of freedom. But let me tell you the story of one, as he has unfolded it to me; not that it is remarkable, but rather because it shows the drift of common minds among the slaves.

JACK LEE supposes himself to be thirty-one years of age. He works for me in the capacity of cook, groom, etc. Until June last he was the slave of Mr. Lewis Sterling. His plantation home was on the Bayou Sara and Woodville road, ten miles from Bayou Sara. One night last June Jack started for Bayou Sara. The ten miles was accomplished before light. In the gray dawn he skulked through the back streets in order to avoid the rebel town, and at daylight made signs to the gunboat which lies in the stream. He was taken aboard. He found there a few others who had reached the ark of safety, and in a few days they were all sent down to Port Hudson. He had worked here before—in the rebel service. He had been sent here by his master, once for three weeks, and again for two, in compliance with the demands of the rebel powers. Since the fort has been in possession of the Union forces, one and another of his "fellow servants" had come in. A good many more had expressed their determination to follow, but did not. They were kept back, some at least, by their reluctance to leave their families. Jack is a widower (of a year's standing, for a wonder, among colored folk). He had pondered the step well and determined to wait no longer. So he made arrangements for the care of his two children, and left between two days.

"What did you intend to do when you should get here?"

"Anything they set me at."

He was examined for a soldier, and set aside on account of physical disability. He then hired himself as servant to Col. Biles.

Now Jack is none of your fiery minds, in which you would expect to see the ardent desire for freedom burning, but a simple, contented man. What did he want to leave his home for? He had no hardships to complain of. His master, he says, treats his people with every consideration now-a-days. No whippings. They do not go to work till 9 o'clock, and come in early. Indeed, it would seem that they are scarcely ordered to do anything, but kept along as nearly as may be in the old track. Besides, Jack had a good crop in of his own, including an acre of peanuts. Each Saturday was allowed for working in their own grounds, so that he could have tended and brought his crop to perfection.

What impelled him to leave the spot which he still loves so dearly? Probably he could not explain it, but it evidently was the desire for freedom. And it is further apparent that the same sentiment prevails among those with whom he was associated. Shall these hearts throbbing for freedom feel anew the stings of slavery? Shall the bright promise be retracted by any terms with their disloyal masters, and those eyes which have seen the Promised Land look only upon the walls of their prison-house repaired and strengthened?

As I have opened Jack's history, let me publish some of the solutions obtained from him of different problems. Being on confidential terms, I propose questions which otherwise might seem impertinent.

"Jack, what makes colored people steal so?"

Ans.—"It is in their blood." But he went on to explain how it got into their blood; viz: by their masters treating them so mean. Anything belonging to masters, which was lying around loose, they would steal if they could. But on his plantation he said it was different. Their master treated the people well, gave them good rations, and allowed them to raise things for themselves; and the colored people never stole from him; but, he added, they would steal from one another.

Jack had seen a pretty severe case of military discipline, in which the accused was not permitted to speak for himself. That, he said, was worse than their old masters. They would let them talk before they were whipped.

"You told all the lies you could make up, I suppose?"

"Yes; everything we could think of. Only you must be sure and make your last word the same as the first. If they catch you tripping, then look out! If a man had a pretty nimble tongue he would get himself off, sometimes. One man lied himself out of a whipping so often that at last the overseer would not let him talk at all." Jack, I fancy, did not reap the benefits that come from a nimble tongue.

Now Jack is by his natural traits honesty itself. I have had experience enough, especially when engaged in giving passes to colored people—yes, and have been humbugged often enough, to judge of the matter. I trust him with anything, and believe every word he utters. But under the lash, he would lie to the best of his ability. It w sort The system makes liars.

PRAYING IN REBELDOM

THE Washington *Chronicle* reports a conversation that actually occurred in the South on one of Jeff. Davis's numerous fast days. The rector of a country parish called on a widow who had lost two sons in the war, urging her to go to church and pray for the preservation of "our liberties." The widow replied: "I shall not pray for your confederates to have more liberties than you have already taken. You have taken the liberty to deprive me of the two boys who were the comfort and stay of my declining years, and they have fallen fighting against a government that had never wronged but always protected us, and they are mouldering in unknown graves, if they were buried at all. After 'taking tithes of all I possess,' your press gang came, and, after pretending to leave me rations for six months for myself and helpless daughters, helped themselves to the rest of my store, paying me one-fifth of the market price in the worthless paper of your confederacy. Your straggling soldiers and provost guards come to my house at will to demand lodging and food out of the pittance left me, and insult me if it is not given. Now I cannot go into the house of God and pray for the success of such a cause. The fear of what men may do to us has forced many a Union-loving man into your ranks, and it may be prudent for me to hold my peace; but I will not 'cloak or dissemble' my feelings before our Heavenly Father." The confused rector paused awhile, and then said, "I am sorry that your trials have not subdued your rebellious and repining spirit." "Do you believe that your prayers will be answered?" said Mrs. ——. "Certainly, if they are offered fervently and in faith," was the reply; "our Church teaches it, and the Bible warrants the teaching." "It does so," rejoined the afflicted one. "And now let me ask you to reflect on the import of the prayer which our Church teaches, and which you will, I hope, offer fervently and in faith to-day." So saying she pointed to the beautiful and impressive passage of the Litany: "From all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion, good Lord, deliver us!"

LOYAL PUBLICATIONS IN EUROPE.

From the Evening Post.

LAST March sixty gentlemen, members of the Union League Club, desiring to place in the hands of influential friends of the Union cause in Europe, and in some of the public libraries there, an authentic collection of the essential documents and facts connected with our national struggle, and also some of the best statements of the causes and aspects of the rebellion, which have been issued in separate pamphlets, subscribed a sufficient sum for that purpose. The letters acknowledging the receipt of the publications in question have been gathered in a pamphlet just issued by the Loyal Publication Society. Below we make some extracts from these letters. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel writes:

"May God grant you speedy and complete victory, and may your nation—freed from the yoke of the slaveholders and saved from the dismemberment they have plotted—be among the foremost of the nations in religion, in morals, in knowledge and in every kind of prosperity."

Professor J. F. Cairnes writes:

"The volumes have reached me in perfect safety, and shall be preserved as a proud memorial of the generous recognition accorded by those citizens of New York to my humble efforts to set forth the causes of a struggle in which, as I firmly believe, are involved some of the dearest and most vital interests of the human race."

Mr. Cobden writes:

"It was a happy thought of your patriotic body which prompted them to place their weapons of moral warfare in the hands of your friends throughout Europe, to sustain their faith in your good cause, and enable them to convince, or at least confute, their and your opponents in the field of controversy."

John Bright writes:

"I hope we may soon have tidings of the progress of your government in recovering the revolted States, and see some prospect of the great contest coming to a close. The divisions in the North create uneasiness here, as being calculated to weaken the President and to give fresh hopes to the South. I hope with you they appear less formidable than to us who look upon them from a distance."

John Stuart Mill writes:

"I take the opportunity of renewing the expression of my warm admiration for the energy and constancy displayed by the people of the free States in their present gigantic struggle, to the success of which I look forward as full of the most important consequences to humanity, stretching into the remotest future."

Harriet Martineau writes:

"I shall now deposit the copy I had before in some public library, where it will be read by the largest number of our working class. It is with that class that the keenest and most enlightened interest is felt in the progress of your great conflict."

Henri Martin, the French historian, says:

"You have correctly supposed that the fortunes of the United States, and the extreme crisis through which they are passing, concerns civilization itself and makes its influence felt on all. A crisis from which, I am one of those who firmly believe, you will come victorious, and delivered from the curse of slavery, which you have inherited from the past. Its gloomy shadow will cease to darken the glory and compromise the genuineness of your free democratic institutions."

Count de Gasparin wrote, October 20th, 1864:

"They were not mistaken in believing that your noble cause had not a more devoted friend than I am. I pray to God that He may bless you above all in your approaching election. It seems to me that not to reelect Mr. Lincoln would be risking everything at the eve of a conclusive success."

There are also letters from W. E. Forster, Thos. Milner Gibson, F. Freiligrath, Dr. Massie, Charles Morley, John H. Estcourt, Rev. Newman Hall, Prof. Thorold Rogers, of the University of Oxford, Professor Goldwin Smith, Augustin Cochin, Prince Napoleon, and others.

"A POTATO PROCESSION."

From the Chicago New Covenant.

THE great need of the army for the last four months has been anti-scorbutics—potatoes, onions and other vegetables, dried fruit and pickles. The Northwestern Sanitary Commission has called for them, and has received responses in tens of thousands of barrels filled with the needed articles. They have poured in in such quantities, that for four months their daily shipment to the front, from the rooms of the Commission, has averaged from four to six carloads.

It is the habit of the Northwest to move in masses, and out of this habit, and the needs of the Commission, have grown the popular "potatoe processions" of the season. A day has been named for the farmers in a certain region, to bring their vegetable offerings to the county town, or the most convenient railroad station, where they have been met with music, speeches and a good dinner. At Waukegan, Ill., one of these processions yielded the Commission eighteen hundred bushels of potatoes, with quantities of dried fruit, butter, eggs, yarn, socks, and every variety of vegetable, and some hundreds of dollars in money. At Dixon, Ottawa, Polo, Aurora, and other places, these novel gatherings have been equally successful.

The glorious little town of Jefferson, eight miles from Chicago, which has given more soldiers to the army, and more money to the Sanitary Commission, than any other town of its size and ability, and which contains enough righteous men to save the great Sodom which it adjoins, a dozen times over, if it were put to the test, became ambitious for a potato procession of its own, straight to the doors of the Sanitary Commission. To will is to do, with our Jefferson farmers, and last week witnessed their entry into Chicago.

The day was exceedingly unfavorable, wet, muddy, cold and disagreeable. About fifty teams were in the procession—there would have been seventy or eighty had the weather been propitious. The regimental band of the 15th Veteran Reserves met them, and escorted them into and through the city, where they were everywhere welcomed. There were loads of hay and vegetables, decorated with flags, and on the foremost wagon of the train sat a full-blooded Spanish Merino lamb. Was *that* also a donation to the Sanitary Commission?

One of the farmers in the procession, Mr. Herbert, who was mainly instrumental in getting up this demonstration, asked his youngest daughter what she could give to the sick and wounded soldiers. The dear child, only ten years old, had but one treasure—a pet lamb—and this she offered. The gift was accepted by the father, and the child, too ill to come into the city, threw her arms around the neck of her pet, kissed it for the last time, wept over it, and bade it a tearful good-by, as she saw it take its departure for Chicago on the top of the leading wagon of the procession.

On their arrival in the city, the lamb attracted general attention, and everyone inquired about it. Thomas B. Bryan, Esq., President of the Soldiers' Home, heard its touching history, and offered $25.00 for it, as a pet for his own daughter, about the same age, and so the gentle-faced "Nanny," bleating now and then for its lost mistress, was, before night, installed in a new home at Cottage Hill, where it will be encircled in the loving arms of another. A little son of Mr. Herbert, only twelve years old, who was soon to be made supremely happy by a new suit of clothes, heroically renounced the new garments, and insisted that the money to be paid for them should be given to the Sanitary Commission. There were many other touching incidents connected with this demonstration.

The procession was made up mainly of men of small means—farmers who rent a few acres at exorbitant rates, and who will feel the sacrifice they made on that day, and be the poorer in purse for it, until another harvest. Many of them were foreign-born—some were aliens—almost all were poor—but all were enthusiastic in their devotion to the country, keenly alive to the tremendous issues of our present contest, and desirous to serve the brave fellows who have thrown themselves into the fearful struggle. To those who know the facts, that modest potato procession of the Jefferson farmers was a prouder display than the grandest pageants of the times. We thought of the words of Jesus, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me," and we were sure the benediction of the Master would rest upon them.

After unloading their stores at the Commission, the farmers proceeded to the Soldiers' Home, where a dinner had been expressly provided for them, and where they enjoyed, at the same time, the honor of dining with some two hundred soldiers, on their way to the front. Eloquent addresses were delivered, the band played its noblest airs, the best women of the city served them, and poured their tea and coffee, and the gallant boys hurrying back to the battle-field, from hospitals and furloughs at home, gave cheer upon cheer for the Jefferson farmers, when they learned of their generosity. In the midst of the festivities a poor soldier in the sick-room of the Home, to whose dull ear the glad sounds penetrated, inquired the cause, and feebly expressing his interest in the occasion, and his gratitude for it, turned his face to the wall and yielded his spirit to his Heavenly Father. And so with the benedictions of the living and dying resting on them, the Jefferson farmers returned back to their homes.

M. A. L.

WHAT THE ELECTION DECIDED.

[Extract from a Speech delivered by HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX, Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, at a Banquet given him by citizens of Philadelphia.]

IT is well for us to consider what has been decided by this great manifestation of the popular will. Abraham Lincoln is to remain in the Presidential chair until every rebel bows in allegiance to the Union (cheers). It decides that the war is not a failure, and that it shall be carried on until our flag floats over the whole country (applause). It also decides that no sword of rebellion shall ever again disrupt this country. It has decided that the doctrine of secession can never be maintained, nor an alien flag ever be allowed to float upon the soil that belongs to the United States of America.

It was decided that as slavery had waded in blood to overthrow this Union, it should be utterly extirpated, both as a penalty for its crime and for our future security. When traitors lit the torch of war in South Carolina, they at the same time lit the funeral pyre of their own slave-breeding institution in America (cheers). If we cannot live upon the American soil as one nation, we cannot live as two nations. There should not be one man left to resist constitutional law, and the war should be prosecuted until the last rebel has grounded his arms (applause).

We are much given in these days to talking about terms of peace. History never recorded more liberal terms than those offered by this government to the traitors in arms against it. We offer them peace if they return and submit to the same laws that we cheerfully and willingly obey. We demand that they shall place out of their reach the causes that have brought on this rebellion. What could be more reasonable? It is said that we are striking against slavery. But it was slavery that struck at our liberties, and the verdict of the people is that it must die (deafening cheers). It is the deadly enemy of the Union. We shall declare in Congress, week after next, that hereafter slavery shall be impossible in the American republic (deafening shouts). Within eleven votes it was passed at the last session. Forty-one votes given by gentlemen from those districts who have been repudiated by their constituents at the last election will cause the passage of the bill week after next by a two-thirds vote of the incoming Congress.

Advertisements.

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is a PREVENTIVE of SICKNESS.—The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes, old and young. It is not new to the Doctor, but is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person one year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring, nevertheless it will save millions from being sick. Is it not better to pay two dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctors' bills, and as much more for the loss of time and the inconvenience of being sick? To prevent sickness use as follows: Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night. It will increase the strength, and give vigor and action to the system. A celebrated New York merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he gained ten pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use, as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it has proved an entire preventive to sickness in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

Price, $3 per bottle (full quart); Pints, $2; Half Pints, $1. 1 Quart bottle, 2 Pint bottles, or 4 Half-pint bottles sent free by express on receipt of price.

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The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warrantee in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

TERMS—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS.

COFFEE! COFFEE!! COFFEE!!!

THE EAST INDIA COFFEE CO.,
154 READE STREET (three doors from Greenwich Street), N. Y.
Call universal attention to their
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price; and also that

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years, can use

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
three times a day without injury, it being entirely free from those properties that produce nervous excitement.

Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE.
I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."

The PRINCIPAL of the NEW YORK EYE INFIRMARY says: "I direct all the patients of our institution to use exclusively

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
and would not be without it on any account."

The Rev. C. LARUE, an eminent clergyman of the M. E. Church, now stationed at Halsey street, Newark, says of

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE:
"I have used it nearly a year in my family, and find it produces no ache of the head or nervous irritation, as in the case of all other Coffees. It is exceedingly pleasant, and I cordially recommend it to all clergymen and their families."

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is used daily by the families of Bishop Ames, Bishop Baker, and many of the most distinguished clergymen and professional men in the country.

BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS!
and be sure that the packages are labelled
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
154 READE STREET, NEW YORK,
as there are numerous counterfeits afloat under the name of "Genuine East India Coffee," "Original East India Coffee," etc., put forth by imposters to deceive the unwary.

In 1 lb. packages, and in boxes of 36, 60 and 100 lbs., for Grocers and large Consumers. *Sold by Grocers generally.*

WHOLESALE AGENTS, to whom Western Grocers may send their orders: S. N. Callender, Buffalo; James Mills, Pittsburg; Gordon, McMillan & Co., Cleveland; Aaron A. Colter & Co., Cincinnati; J. & J. W. Bunn, Springfield, Ill.; Sawyer & Starrett, Indianapolis.

THE WHEELER AND WILSON SEWING MACHINE
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LOCK STITCH

and ranks highest on account of the elasticity, permanence, beauty, and general desirableness of the stitching when done, and the wide range of its application.—*Report of American Inst., N. Y.*, 1863

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IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the best Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:
That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb-screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out.*
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadv